

Historical Dictionary of **S I K H I S M**

Louis E. Fenech
W. H. McLeod

Third Edition: 2014

ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD

Lanham, Maryland 20706

Published by Rowman & Littlefield
4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706
<http://www.rowman.com>

10 Thornbury Road, Plymouth PL6 7PP, United Kingdom

Copyright © 2014 by Louis E. Fenech and Duncan W. H. McLeod

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any electronic or mechanical means, including information storage and retrieval systems, without written permission from the publisher, except by a reviewer who may quote passages in a review.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Fenech, Louis E., author.
Historical dictionary of Sikhism / Louis E. Fenech, W. H. McLeod. — Third edition.
pages cm. — (Historical dictionaries of religions, philosophies, and movements)
Previously published: 2005.
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 978-1-4422-3600-4 (cloth : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-1-4422-3601-1 (ebook)
1. Sikhism—Dictionaries. I. McLeod, W. H., author. II. Title.
BL2017.3.M35 2014
294.603—dc23
2014003799



The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.

Printed in the United States of America

Contents

Editor's Foreword	ix
Preface	xi
Reader's Notes	xv
Acronyms and Abbreviations	xvii
Table, Map, and Chart	xix
Chronology	xxi
Introduction	1
THE DICTIONARY	15
Bibliography	329
About the Authors	415

Editor's Foreword

The basic tenets of Sikhism are scarcely known to outsiders. Even Sikhs' geographical neighbors are often ignorant about their religion, one of the world's most intriguing and dynamic. And such information is increasingly important, with millions of Sikhs in an ever-expanding diaspora, reaching into Great Britain, Europe, the United States, Canada, and Australasia. Compared to other religions, Sikhism is not large, with a bit more than 20 million adherents, but it is distinctive and deserves to be far better known.

This third edition of *Historical Dictionary of Sikhism* provides considerably more information than the first two editions. It contains a substantial chronology and insightful introduction, and the dictionary section provides hundreds of entries on the principles, precepts, and practices of Sikhism, as well as its history and culture. It addresses key people, such as the 10 Gurus of the foundation period and current Sikh leaders; crucial events over more than five centuries; notable organizations; and memorable locations. An extensive bibliography rounds out this unique reference work.

The first two editions were written by W. H. McLeod, who passed away in 2009. He taught in the Punjab in the 1960s, returning frequently thereafter, as well as at the University of Otago in New Zealand. One of the foremost authorities on Sikhism, he wrote extensively, including 10 books and numerous articles. He also nurtured a new generation of specialists, one of whom is Louis E. Fenech, who studied with Dr. McLeod at the University of Toronto. Since graduation, Dr. Fenech has been teaching at the University of Northern Iowa and Shanghai Dianji University. He, too, has written extensively on the Sikhs, including four books. In addition to revising the earlier material in this volume, Dr. Fenech has added many essential entries and completed or updated others. Thanks to the two of them, readers—both newcomers and those who are more experienced—now have an even more useful source of information on Sikhism.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor

Preface

As this preface is being written in late 2013, Sikhs and scholars and students of the Sikh tradition are occupying an enviable academic space. The state of knowledge regarding the Sikh tradition outside of India has improved dramatically over the last 40 years, corresponding in many ways to the increase in Sikh numbers throughout the world. Within the United Kingdom and the European continent, for example, scholars interested in Sikh studies and university courses dealing with the Sikhs have expanded considerably alongside European Sikh populations. The issue of the Sikh turban in France has placed Sikh concerns center stage in that country, while in the UK itself Sikhism has formed a unit of study in primary schools for quite some time. Indeed, the UK offers examinations for both the GCSE and for A Levels in Punjabi and Sikhism. The same progress has been made in both Australia and New Zealand, in which Sikhs have been elected to important positions and through their presence have stimulated the curiosity of non-Sikhs in these countries.

Yet it is in North America that Sikhs have made the greatest strides, at least academically. Today, within Canada and the United States there are eight chairs of Sikh studies, easily the most distinguished specifically Indian field of study on the continent. This is in large part thanks not only to the fact that Sikhs have made significant contributions to the history of modern India and that they were among the earliest Indians to migrate to what had become the industrialized world, but also to the remarkable impact that Sikhs have made on the political economies of North America and the creation of a very progressive diaspora, which invests its wealth and efforts in ensuring that all people are privy to knowledge of the Sikh tradition and the teachings of the Sikh Gurus, an investment that likely has at least some of its altruistic roots in the Sikh tradition of selfless service, or *sewā*. Such service has benefited us all.

This agreeable position has been achieved not only at great financial and in many cases personal cost but also through acts and events that were not so fortunate. The recurring ethno-nationalist violence perpetrated upon and by Sikhs in the 1980s and 1990s in India, for example, saw a spate of academic conferences in the UK and North America during and immediately afterward attempting to understand such occurrences and situate these within their appropriate context. This has in turn led to growing interest in Sikh studies, culminating in a number of initiatives in Toronto, Vancouver, and Michigan to establish centers of Sikh studies. Two of these thrive today. Equally as

dramatic, moreover, was the specter of the horrific events of 11 September 2001 in New York City and Pennsylvania that has haunted and continues to haunt North America and Europe. This tragedy has created an atmosphere in which Sikhs are threatened outside of South Asia on an almost daily basis. Each and every one of the recorded post-9/11 attacks against Sikhs has been registered as ones of mistaken identity, in which perpetrators have thought that they were attacking operatives of al-Qaeda. This does not excuse their horrible crimes, of course, but it is certainly indicative of a general ignorance of Sikhism among the general population in the United States. Media coverage of tragedies like these has correspondingly demonstrated such unfamiliarity, making clear that although knowledge regarding the Sikhs has well increased in academic circles, there is still a very long way to go before Sikhism and its adherents are as familiar to the general public of non-Indians living outside of South Asia as are members of the Semitic traditions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

It is indeed unfortunate that it has taken the trials and tribulations that Sikhs have suffered to lead to an increased awareness of the Sikhs, of their traditions and their position as a distinct minority both within and outside of India. This has in turn fostered an urgent need for an even more deep appreciation of the Sikh tradition and of the many Sikhs and Sikh communities that today span the globe, a trend that will continue in the light of increasing globalization.

This expanded and revised third edition of the *Historical Dictionary of Sikhism* hopes to play a small role in filling that need and, simultaneously, in supporting and continuing the legacy of one of the most important modern scholars of the Sikh tradition, W. H. McLeod, the author of the first and second editions of this work. Hew McLeod's impact on the study of the Sikh tradition has been dramatic; in many ways his influence, especially in North America, has near single-handedly made the Sikh tradition a topic worthy of serious and critical academic scrutiny, an examination, put simply, that the nascent field did not enjoy outside of India until the late 1960s. The number of students who have studied or completed their studies with Professor McLeod, students who have challenged and augmented his research with their own, and who have subsequently played roles in developing the field of Sikh studies is a testament to this influence. It is in part thanks to his tireless efforts that Sikh studies enjoys the progress that it has made since the appearance of his first monograph, *Gurū Nānak and the Sikh Religion* (1968), development that of course continues in new and fascinating directions even after his death in July 2009. I hope very much that this new expanded and revised edition would meet with his approval as Hew McLeod was an academic who was always ready to revise and change his opinions in the light of new and insightful scholarship. Without his guidance it is unlikely that this edition would have been at all possible.

Hew McLeod's earlier editions of this historical dictionary very much reflected his critical approach to the study of Sikh history and religion and those aspects of the Sikh tradition he found most fascinating, particularly the Sikh scripture, the *Adi Granth*; the life narratives of Guru Nanak, the *janam-sakhis*; and the Khalsa code of conduct, the *Rahit*. Reading the early editions through carefully allowed one to really value how surgically selective Professor McLeod could be while at the same time allowing one to appreciate the thorough nature of his many definitions. This precision, though, left room to incorporate further material, and this in turn has permitted this revised and expanded third edition to provide a more robust picture of the Sikh tradition, complementing an already superb text.

The most easily identifiable area of this new edition that has seen enhancement is the incorporation of more recent scholarship, much of which has rightfully engaged that of McLeod and very critically so. Since the second edition's date of publication in 2005, a number of monographs dealing with aspects of the Sikh tradition have been published and knowledge has been circulated, particularly at specialty academic conferences the sole focus of which is Sikh studies. Many of Professor McLeod's earlier definitions, therefore, as well as his two introductions within the second edition (to the dictionary itself and to the bibliography) have been supplemented by research dating after 2005, some of which questions Hew's stance on subjects such as the *Rahit* and *rahit-namas* and the contents of the *Dasam Granth*, particularly its Persian portions. Recent literature also critiques some of his claims regarding a Sikh theology, his examination of other forms of 18th-century Sikh literature, and the binary that often permeated his scholarship, that of tradition as opposed to critical and rigorous history. Where new knowledge has displaced any of that claimed in McLeod's earlier definitions, preference has generally been given to the new in all cases, in which the fresh material is of course sound. When material that provides alternatives to the discussions within this dictionary has emerged, it has been incorporated but without displacing Hew's earlier material. Instead, such new directions have been included as supplemental. This is also the case for scholarship that has answered the many questions posed by McLeod in both his own scholarship and previous editions of this *Historical Dictionary of Sikhism*. Certainly Hew McLeod would have encouraged all of this editing himself.

Luckily for those of us in Sikh studies, much of the Sikh written record still exists in the form of original unpublished manuscripts dating as far back as the time of the Sikh Gurus, some written in the very hands of the Gurus (circa 1500–1700), and the century afterward, the 18th century. Many new discoveries therefore may be just an archive visit away. Moreover, new and fascinating ways of reading manuscripts, both known and recently discovered, and refracting their information through the lenses of postcolonial and postmodern studies, among others, have led to their revaluation in recent

years. As a corollary to this is the fact that the Sikh studies circle has grown considerably since 2005, with new scholars publishing their insightful discoveries on a yearly basis. All of this new research and the evidence of newly detected manuscripts have been incorporated in this revised and expanded third edition.

It must now be quite obvious that Hew McLeod's spirit is the predominant guiding light that shines throughout this edition. But his is not the only one. This new edition is also indebted to the enthusiasm and help of Margaret McLeod and her family and the persistence and patience of Jon Woronoff, both of whom have my thanks. I have as well accrued a number of debts while supplementing this already excellent dictionary. In Shanghai I was taken to various sites associated with Sikh traffic wardens and policemen by my friend Amy/Dai Yi and her family. As well I would like to thank Isabelle Jackson for pointing me to the site of the first Sikh gurdwara in Shanghai. In Singapore I was generously guided by a number of people whom I would like to thank here: Andrea Pinkney, Vithiya Subramaniam, Ishwinder Singh, and Peter Pak. Peter's efforts and those of the "Brownies" in preserving the wonderful Chinese cemetery of Bukit Brown and its stunning Sikh statues is inspiring and deserves special mention as too does Ish Singh's attempts to preserve these statues. I would also like to thank both Inderjit Kaur for sharing her fascinating research and Amardeep Singh for making me familiar with Rai Bahadur Lal Singh. Thanks as well to Pashaura Singh, who was never more than a phone call away when I required help and clarification. Farzad Moussavi, Brenda Bass, and Robert Martin deserve a special note of gratitude for granting me the time and the funds to visit so many places outside of India associated with the Sikhs and the Sikh tradition, and so too friends and family in Toronto and Cedar Falls. Finally, thanks to my immediate family Christine, Agatha, and Hanno, whose never-failing support has always been a lifeline.

Louis E. Fenech

Reader's Notes

There are a number of calendars that have been used throughout the history of the Sikh people and tradition. For the sake of clarity and consistency, therefore (and except where specifically mentioned), common-era (C.E.) dating that corresponds to the Gregorian calendar is used for all dates in the dictionary entries.

In the dictionary, all names, unless otherwise noted, are alphabetized according to Indian usage—by the first letter of the first name. For example, Vir Singh appears under *V*, not *S*. This is because in India two-word names are invariably used and listed in this way. To expect any reader in that part of the world to look up Vir Singh under “Singh, Vir” would invite some puzzlement. The natural place for such a reader to search would obviously be under *V*. Only where the individual uses a third name (which is generally a caste title) does India sometimes use the Western method of listing according to the initial letter of the last name. In the dictionary, this method is not followed; Abdus Samad Khan, for example, is listed under *A*, not under *K*.

In the bibliography, however, this practice has been reversed, reluctantly. Many users of this bibliography will want to consult works held by Western libraries; there they will find that the Western method is invariably used. Vir Singh is catalogued under *S* as “Singh, Vir.” Consequently, this practice is followed in the bibliography of this work.

What is new to this third edition is the sustained use of diacritical marks. As the vast majority of Sikh terms, names, institutions, and titles in this dictionary are transliterated from the Gurmukhi script, in which Punjabi is written, into Roman script, there are a few conventions to note: first, words that designate important Sikh religious and disciplinary terms that appear as headings in uppercase bold type—such as **NĀM SIMRAN**—will appear in these headings with diacritical marks. When these appear throughout the texts of definitions the terms will appear in lowercase letters and italicized. These too will be in boldface to facilitate cross-referencing, and so ***nām simran***.

Second, titles of specific books, when appearing as headings in boldface, will also use full diacritics, but will not be italicized (for example, **MAHIMĀ PRAKĀSH**). When such book titles appear within the context of a definition, though, these will be both boldfaced and italicized and diacritics will appear, for example, ***Mahimā Prakāsh***. The only exceptions to this rule regard very well-known and important Sikh texts, prayers, and compositions such as, for example, Jap, Japji, janam-sakhis, Asa di Var, and the Sikh Rahit

Maryada to name a few, which will only include diacritics and be italicized in their first appearance as headings. Subsequently these will appear without diacritics and italics. The same holds true for the sacred Sikh scriptures, the *Adi Granth*, or *Guru Granth Sahib*, and the *Dasam Granth*, and their earlier manuscript versions (*Kartārpur Bīr* / *Kartarpur Bir*, for example). All of these will have diacritics when these appear in their first heading. Afterward, these titles will remain in regular script (and bold if these are also headings). There is too the rare case of a Sikh work that was originally written in another language and then transliterated into Gurmukhi. When this occurs the transliteration of both scripts will be employed in the heading. For example, **ZAFAR-NĀMĀ/ZAFAR-NĀMAH**, which transliterates into Roman script both its Gurmukhi and Shahmukhi (an adapted Perso-Arabic script in which Punjabi is written, especially in Pakistan today) spellings. Within the text of the definitions, though, the preference will be given to the Gurmukhi transliterations.

Third, transliterated names of individuals, castes, and subcastes, particular recognizable groups (Naths, Namdharis, saints, bhagats, etc.), and places (unless the placename is a part of the title of a composition such as the **GOINDVĀL POTHĪS**) will not appropriate diacritics in either headings or text, while the names of popular Sikh organizations such as the **KHĀLSĀ**, **CHIEF KHĀLSĀ DĪVĀN**, or the **AKĀLĪ DAL** and other recognizably Sikh identities such as Udasi, Nirmala, Sahaj-dhari, or Kes-dhari will only be noted with diacritics in their first appearance and if these appear as headings.

Finally, Gurmukhi terms that only appear within the text of the definition and thus not as headings themselves will be generally italicized the first time these appear with diacritics. In subsequent appearances, however, both italics and diacritics will be dropped.

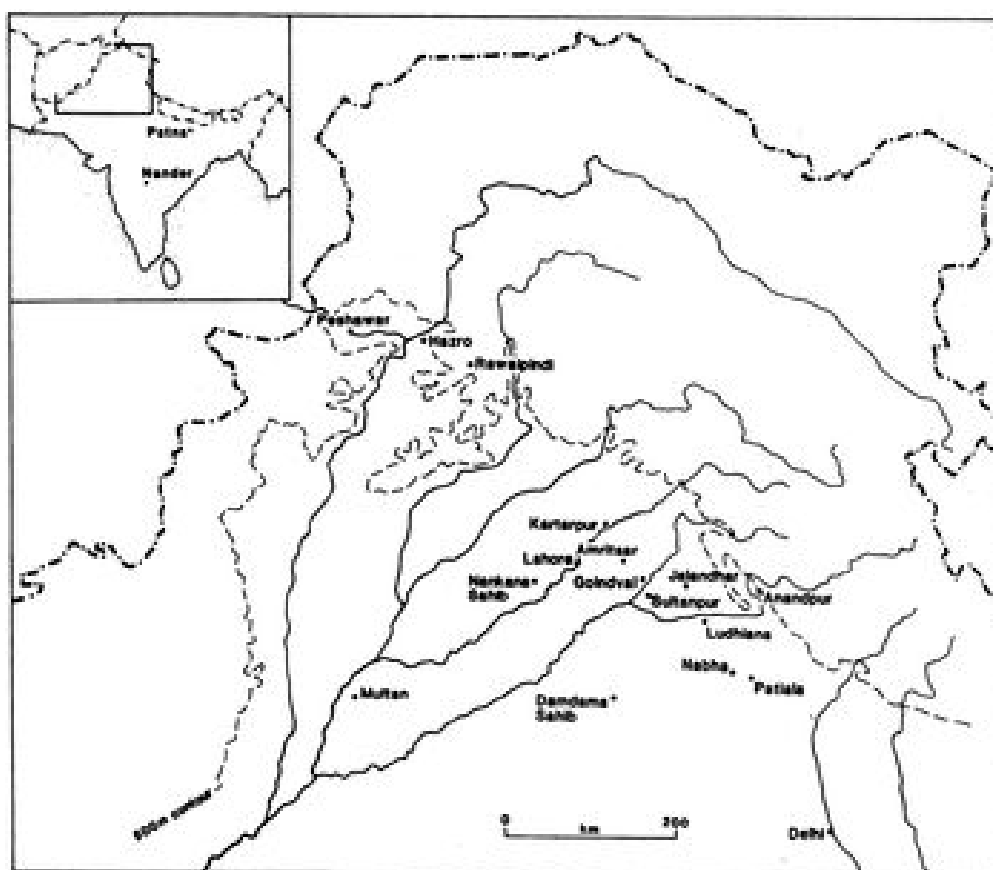
Acronyms and Abbreviations

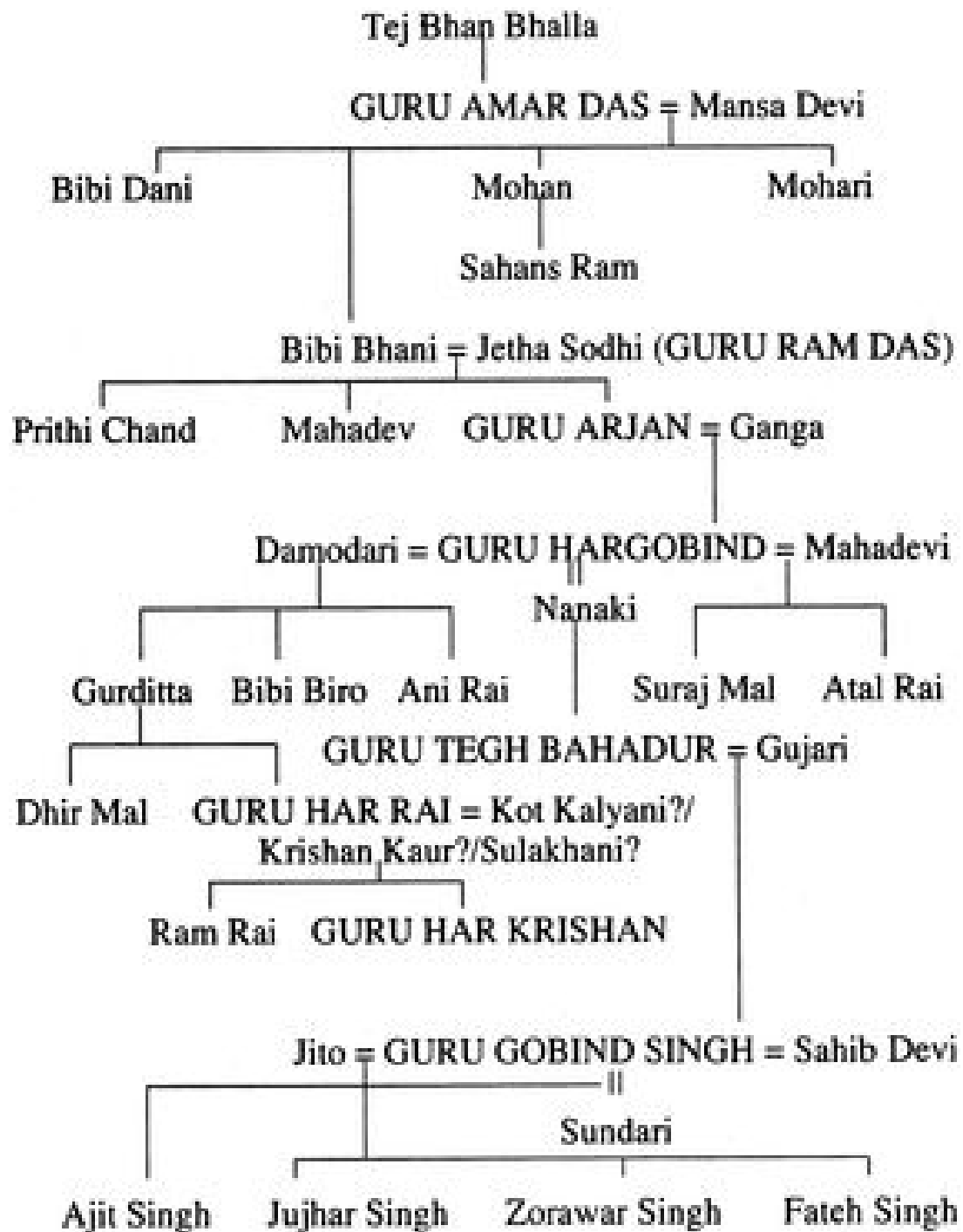
3HO	Happy, Healthy, and Holy Organization; Sikh Dharma of the Western Hemisphere
AG	Adi Granth
AISSF	All-India Sikh Students' Federation
CKD	Chief Khalsa Divan
DG	Dasam Granth
ICS	Indian Civil Service
KCF	Khalistan Commando Force
PEPSU	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
SAD	Shiromani Akali Dal
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee
SLS	Sacred Language of the Sikhs

Table, Map, and Chart

Descendants of the Sikh Gurus

Guru	Designation	Birth	Guruship	Death
Guru Nanak	Mahalla 1	1469	1469	1539
Guru Angad	Mahalla 2	1504	1539	1552
Guru Amar Das	Mahalla 3	1479	1552	1574
Guru Ram Das	Mahalla 4	1534	1574	1581
Guru Arjan	Mahalla 5	1563	1581	1606
Guru Hargobind	Mahalla 6	1595	1606	1644
Guru Har Rai	Mahalla 7	1630	1644	1661
Guru Har Krishan	Mahalla 8	1656	1661	1664
Guru Tegh Bahadur	Mahalla 9	1621	1665	1675
Guru Gobind Singh	Mahalla 10	1666	1675	1708





The Sikh Gurus

Chronology

1469 Birth of Guru Nanak in northwestern India.

1479 Birth of Guru Amar Das.

1499 The year that is believed to mark the beginning of Guru Nanak's preaching.

1504 Birth of Guru Angad.

1520 Traditional year in which Guru Nanak turns his attention to farming in the village he founded, Kartarpur. During this period the First Guru put into practice his ideology of living purely in an impure world.

1526 15 April: The Battle of Panipat is fought between the forces of Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur and Ibrahim Lodi. The subsequent defeat of the Lodi dynasty will mark the beginning of the Mughal empire. Also, Babur's son Humayun secures the *Koh-i nūr* diamond.

1527 The Battle of Khanua is fought between Babur and the Rajput forces of Rana Sangha. Although Panipat marks Babur's entry into India, Khanua leaves him supreme. Guru Nanak will write about Babur's supremacy and his defeat of the Lodis in a series of hymns collectively called the *Bābur-vāṇī*.

1530 The death of Babur and accession of his son Humayun to the Mughal throne.

1534 Birth of Guru Ram Das.

1538–1539 Death of Guru Nanak. Succeeded by Lahina, who becomes Guru Angad.

1539–1540 The defeat of Humayun by the forces of Sher Khan Suri at the Battle of Chausa. Humayun flees the battlefield and eventually makes his way to Iran, securing the help of the Safavid dynasty. Before leaving for Iran, however, Sikh tradition notes that he meets with Guru Angad.

1542 Birth of the Mughal emperor Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar. Akbar will become one of the greatest emperors in the history of India; his life is often intertwined with that of the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Sikh Gurus.

1551 Birth of Bhai Gurdas Bhalla, poet, amanuensis, and pious disciple of the Sikh Gurus, who is sometimes referred to as the "Saint Paul of Sikhism" because of his keen understanding of Sikh ideology and the perceptions

beautifully conveyed in both collections of his poetry, the *Vārān* and *Kabitts*, the former of which is referred to as *Gurū Granth kī kuñjī*, “The Key to the Guru Granth Sahib.”

1552 Death of Guru Angad. Succeeded by Amar Das.

1563 Birth of Guru Arjan.

1569 Birth of Prince Salim (the future emperor Jahangir) to Akbar and his wife Maryamuzzamani.

1574 Death of Guru Amar Das. Succeeded by his son-in-law Jetha, who becomes Guru Ram Das.

1581 Death of Guru Ram Das. Succeeded by his third son, Arjan.

1587 Birth of Prince Khusrau to Jahangir and his wife, the Rajput princess Manbai. Khusrau was Jahangir’s eldest son and, apparently, briefly met with Guru Arjan.

1592 Birth of Prince Khurram to Jahangir and his wife, the Rajput princess Manmati. Khurram was Jahangir’s third son and would interact with the Sixth and Seventh Gurus.

1595 Birth of Guru Hargobind. Early in his life Hargobind is threatened by his father’s elder brother, Prithi Chand, events that are memorialized in the hymns of the Fifth Guru.

1603–1604 Compilation of the Adi Granth.

1604 The Adi Granth is installed at Harimandir Sahib.

1605 Death of Mughal emperor Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar. Before his death he reconciles with his eldest son, Salim (with the intercession of Jahangir’s sister and mother), and Akbar appoints him successor. Salim takes the title Jahangir, “Seizer of the World.”

1606 Jahangir orders the arrest and execution of Guru Arjan for supposedly blessing the rival claim to the throne by Jahangir’s rebellious son, Khusrau. It is Khusrau whom Jahangir blames for the suicide of his wife, Khusrau’s mother. Khusrau is ultimately caught and blinded while Guru Arjan is summoned to Lahore, arrested, and dies in Mughal custody, a death Sikh tradition interprets as martyrdom. Guru Arjan is then succeeded by his only son, Hargobind, who will don two swords rather than one: the sword of spirituality (*pīrī*) and the new sword of secular rule (*mīrī*).

1618 Birth of Aurangzeb, Shah Jahan’s third son by the emperor’s wife Mumtaz.

1619 October–November: Probable time during which Guru Hargobind is released from Gwalior prison on the day after Diwali. Along with him, 52 prisoners are liberated.

1621 Birth of Guru Tegh Bahadur. As a young man, the Ninth Guru displays a martial ability, earning a reputation as a solid warrior during the skirmishes between his father, Guru Hargobind, and the Mughal emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Afterward, he retires to the village of Bakala.

1622 Prince Khurram rebels against his father and has his own elder brother, the now-blind Khusrau, killed. Khurram goes on the run with his wife, Mumtaz, and a handful of his courtiers.

1627–1628 Death of Jahangir. All claimants to Jahangir's throne are killed by Asaf Khan, the brother of Nur Jahan and father of Mumtaz, who is serving the interests of his son-in-law Khurram. Khurram subsequently secures the throne and takes the title Shah Jahan, "King of the World."

1630 Birth of Guru Har Rai, who will be befriended by the prince, Dara Shikoh, eldest son of Shah Jahan. Dara had inherited the affectionate inquisitiveness of his grandfather, Akbar.

1633 Birth of Bhai Nand Lal Goya in Ghazna. Sikh tradition claims that Nand Lal's father, Chajju Mal or Chajju Ram, was the *munshī* or clerk of Dara Shikoh.

1636 Death of Bhai Gurdas Bhalla.

1643 November: Land grant given to Dhir Mall by the Emperor Shah Jahan.

1644 Death of Guru Hargobind. Succeeded by his grandson, Har Rai.

1656 Birth of Guru Har Krishan.

1657–1658 Shah Jahan falls ill, and the struggle for succession between the many rival claimants to the Mughal throne ensues. Sikh tradition and later Persian chronicles note that the Seventh Sikh Guru may have sided with, or at least may have blessed the prospects of, Dara Shikoh. The struggle is won by the third son of Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb, who takes the imperial title 'Alamgir, "World Seizer," and who soon has his eldest brother, Dara, executed in Delhi. Soon after his accession, he summons Guru Har Rai to Delhi. The latter sends his son Ram Rai in his place; he soon becomes a Mughal courtier and earns the disapproval of his father.

1661 Death of Guru Har Rai. Succeeded by his second son, the child Har Krishan. The Eighth Guru is very soon afterward summoned to Delhi by Aurangzeb. At this time, Aurangzeb, likely with the collusion of Ram Rai, wishes to influence the destiny of the Sikh Panth by having a say in the choice of Guru.

1664 Death of Guru Har Krishan in Delhi. Succeeded by his uncle, Tegh Bahadur, a son of Guru Hargobind. Tegh Bahadur agrees to become Guru, knowing full well that the emperor, Aurangzeb, will not be pleased.

1666 Birth of Gobind Rai, the son of Guru Tegh Bahadur in Patna while the Ninth Guru is touring eastern India.

1675 11 November: Execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur by the Mughals in Delhi for reasons that are still unclear. Succeeded by his only son, Gobind Rai (later Gobind Singh). It is probable that after the Ninth Guru's execution, Aurangzeb gives up attempting to play a role in the future direction of the Sikh Panth. Initially, because of the Guru's young age, his maternal uncle Kirpal stands as regent.

1679 Guru Gobind Singh grants to the *mandir* of Kapal Mochan a *tamar patar*, or copper plate, indicative of his interests in ruling near this area.

1685 Guru Gobind Singh is invited to Nahan in Sirmur by the raja of Sirmur, Medini Prakash. The Guru lodges at Paonta Sahib and will remain here for the next three to four years.

1688 3 October: Battle of Bhangani between Guru Gobind Singh, Fateh Shah of Garhwal, and other Pahari Rajput rulers.

1689 The Tenth Guru returns to Anandpur and begins constructing the five defensive forts that protect the town, one of which is Anandgarh.

1691 20 March: The Battle of Nadaun between the forces of the Tenth Guru and the Pahari rajas against those of the Mughal governor of Jammu.

1693 Aurangzeb issues an order to ensure that Sikhs do not gather at Anandpur on the annual Baisakhi festival, an act indicative of growing Sikh power in the region.

1696 Possible year during which the first rahit-namas were prepared. Also the year during which portions of the Dasam Granth were completed.

1697 Possible date of completion for the Anandpuri Bir manuscript of the Dasam Granth.

1698 Possible date of completion for the Patna Bir manuscript of the Dasam Granth.

1699 30 March: Probable date of the inauguration of the Khalsa.

1700–1708 Most likely period during which Sainapati's *Srī Gur-sobhā* was written.

1704 21 December: The great siege of Anandpur and its evacuation by Guru Gobind Singh.

1705 January: Guru Gobind Singh hears of the death of his two youngest sons at the hands of Wazir Khan, governor of Sirhind. **January:** Battle of Chamkaur and the death of the *vaḍḍe sāhibzāde*, or the two elder sons of Guru Gobind Singh.

1706 Guru Gobind Singh begins his journey southward to meet with Emperor Aurangzeb so that they may settle the issue of Anandpur, his patrimony from which he was illegally ejected. Sikh tradition claims that it was the Guru's Persian letter, the *Zafar-nāmā*, that persuaded Aurangzeb to arrange this meeting. Contemporary Mughal documents imply that this may have been the case.

1707 1 March: Aurangzeb dies. A succession struggle ensues between Aurangzeb's many sons and grandsons. Guru Gobind Singh sides with his old acquaintance Prince Mu'azzam/Bahadur Shah and continues southward to meet with him to discuss Anandpur and to aid the potential emperor in his attempt to secure the throne.

1708 Guru Gobind Singh is brought into the presence of Bahadur Shah. He presents *niāz*, or tribute, to Bahadur Shah, the eldest of Aurangzeb's sons, and is in turn gifted with a robe of honor and a medallion. Guru Gobind Singh also meets with Banda at or near Nander in the Deccan sometime before October. **2 October:** He has his scribes write two *hukam-nāmās*, or "written instructions," telling the *saṅgats* of Dhaul and Khara to prepare for his return to the Punjab. He mentions returning to Kahlur, which suggests that the matter of the return of Anandpur to the Guru was settled with the new emperor's intercession. **7 October:** Following an assassination attempt a few days earlier, the Tenth Guru dies. No successor is appointed, and the role of Guru passes to the scripture.

1709–1715 Rebellion against the Mughals in the Punjab led by Banda Bahadur.

1712 Death of Bahadur Shah. Succeeded by Jahandar Shah, who is shortly afterward succeeded by Farrukh-Siyar. All three emperors pursue a policy to put down Banda's rebellion with force, enacting draconian measures against Khalsa Sikhs.

1713 Probable year during which Bhai Nand Lal Goya dies in Multan. He had returned to his first Indian home after the death of the Tenth Guru in 1708. The possible year that the New Delhi Mani Singh Wali Bir of the Dasam Granth was finalized.

1716 Execution of Banda Bahadur and all of the Khalsa Sikhs captured with him at Gurdas-Nangal, in Delhi. A unique event in the history of the Sikhs as it is the first to be witnessed and recorded by two Englishmen, John Surman and Edward Stephenson of the British East India Company, who pen an eyewitness account to their superiors in London. This event is also noted in Persian chronicles.

1719 The assassination of Farrukh-Siyar. Muhammad Shah becomes the emperor. This is also the year of the earliest discovered manuscript of the *Tankhāh-nāmā* attributed to Bhai Nand Lal Goya, titled the *Nasīhat-nāmā*.

1725 Execution of Ajit Singh Palit, the adopted son of Mata Sundari, Guru Gobind Singh's widow, who settled in Delhi after her husband's death.

1726 Zakariya Khan becomes governor of Lahore.

1733 Land grant offered to the Khalsa Sikhs by Zakariya Khan. It is accepted, together with the rank of Nawab for Kapur Singh.

1738 Execution of Mani Singh.

1739 Delhi is sacked by the Persian invader Nadir Shah. As Nadir Shah makes his way back to Iran, Sikh warriors attack his baggage train.

1740 Massa Ranghar assassinated by Mahtab Singh and Sukha Singh.

1746 Yahiya Khan becomes governor of Lahore. **1 May:** The *Chhoṭa Ghallūghārā* (lesser massacre) occurs.

1747 The invasions of the Punjab by Ahmad Shah Abdali begin. During the middle decades of the 18th century, the Sikh *misl*s, or confederacies, develop.

1762 6 February: The *Vaḍḍā Ghallūghārā* (great massacre) occurs.

1772 Death of Ahmad Shah Abdali.

1780 Birth of Ranjit Singh.

1799 Occupation of Lahore by Ranjit Singh.

1801 Ranjit Singh is declared maharaja of the Punjab.

1809 The Treaty of Amritsar is signed by both Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Charles Metcalfe, ceding the territories of the Punjab south of the River Sutlej (Cis-Sutlej) to the British East India Company. Ranjit Singh is now free to expand his empire to the north of the Sutlej (Trans-Sutlej).

1813 The *Koh-i nūr* diamond is given to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Likely date of the completion of Ratan Singh Bhangu's premiere *gur-bilās* text, *Gurpanth Prakāsh* (also known as *Prachīn Panth Prakāsh*).

1818 Occupation of Multan by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

1819 Conquest of Kashmir by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

1834 Occupation of Peshawar by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

1839 27 June: Death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Succeeded as maharaja by Kharak Singh.

1840 6 November: Death of Kharak Singh and Prince Nau Nihal Singh.

1841 20 January: Sher Singh succeeds as maharaja.

1843 Assassination of Sher Singh and Raja Dhian Singh. Dalip Singh proclaimed maharaja.

1845–1846 First Anglo-Sikh war. Annexation of the Jalandhar Doab.

1848–1849 Second Anglo-Sikh war and the annexation of the remainder of the Punjab kingdom by the British.

1851 Maharaja Dalip Singh becomes a Christian and moves to London, ultimately becoming “Queen Victoria’s Maharaja.”

1873 First Singh Sabha founded in Amritsar.

1875 The Arya Samaj or “Society of Aryans” is founded in Bombay by Swami Dayananda Saraswati. It becomes very popular in the Punjab, and a number of reform-minded Sikhs join the organization. During this year the first publication of Dayananada’s opus *Satyarth Prakāsh* appears in Hindi, a portion of which criticizes Guru Nanak. Many Sikhs leave the organization as a result and pursue the reform of the Sikh tradition elsewhere.

1877 Ernest Trumpp’s English translation of the Adi Granth is published by Oxford University Press to the chagrin of Sikh intellectuals.

1879 The Singh Sabha of Lahore is founded.

1883 11 April: Khalsa Divan Amritsar is established in order to bring together all of the Singh Sabhas throughout the Punjab.

1886 The *Khālsā Akhbār* newspaper begins publication.

1887 The first Sikhs arrive in Canada as part of the festivities for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee.

1898 Kahn Singh Nabha's *Ham Hindu Nāhīn* (We Are Not Hindus) published.

1899 Vir Singh begins publishing the *Khālsā Samāchār* newspaper.

1902 The Chief Khalsa Divan (CKD) is established. The English language organ of the CKD, the *Khalsa Advocate* newspaper, also begins publication.

1909 Anand Marriage Act passed. Max Arthur Macauliffe's *The Sikh Religion* is published.

1913 Rakabganj Gurdwara protest campaign.

1914 4 April: The *Komagata Maru* leaves Hong Kong harbor on a continuous journey to Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. By the time that all passengers board, many from Southeast and East Asian ports, the vast majority of whom, are Sikh, their numbers are 376. **23 May:** The ship reaches Vancouver, but it is not allowed to dock.

1914–1918: World War I. Sikh men enlist en masse into the British army and see action all over Europe. The grave sacrifices they make change their outlook on the world and play a role in the development of agitational politics within the Punjab. Many returned soldiers join the gurdwara *morche* between 1920 and 1925.

1919 Central Sikh League founded, followed by the Akali Dal. Both groups are far more confrontational than the Chief Khalsa Divan, which continues its policy of expressing loyalty to the Crown as it attempts to secure further political rights for the Sikhs.

1920–1925 Gurdwara Reform Movement and the formation of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC). Most Sikh organizations adopt the nonviolent satyagraha form of political agitation proposed by Mohandas Gandhi. To this end the *Akālī* newspaper constantly refracts Gandhian satyagraha through the prism of Sikh history.

1925 Sikh Gurdwaras Act passed, in which a Sikh is defined legislatively.

1939–1945 World War II. As in the previous war, Sikhs enlist en masse despite the Indian nationalist reticence to join the war effort. In this conflict, Sikhs see a great deal of fighting in Southeast Asia, especially in Malaya.

1940–1947 The specter of Pakistan haunts Sikh leaders, who know that the Punjab, a Muslim majority state, will be torn in two if the Pakistan Declaration of 1940 is made concrete.

1947 15 August: Indian independence from Great Britain, followed by the partition of the Punjab. Mass migration of Sikhs and Hindus from Pakistan Punjab and Muslims from Indian Punjab. During the partition, millions of Sikhs, Hindus, and Muslims migrate from India to Pakistan or vice versa. Riots break out in which huge numbers of people are killed.

1948 15 July: The Patiala and East Punjab States Union is formed, combining eight princely states: Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Kalsia, Kapurthala, Nalagarh, Faridkot, and Malerkotla.

1950 The Sikh Rahit Maryada is formally issued by 84 Sikh intellectuals and 21 Sikh institutions.

1966 Punjabi Suba (Punjabi state) is granted by the government of India. A smaller Punjab is formed by cutting off areas where a majority declared their mother tongue to be Hindi.

1969 27 October: Darshan Singh Pheruman dies after publicly fasting to force the government of India to concede Chandigarh as the sole capital of the new Punjab state created in 1966, a promise that the central government had made to the people of Punjab at the time that the new Punjab state was formed in 1966.

1973 Proposal of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution.

1975 The Emergency is declared by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. **9 July:** The Akalis respond with mass agitation.

1978 Formal passage of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. **April:** The murder of a number of Akhand Kirtani Jatha followers by Sant Nirankaris at the Golden Temple. This latter event propels Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale into the spotlight.

1982 The Akalis, in collaboration with Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale, launch the Dharam Yudh Morcha in order to secure the Sikh concerns outlined in the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. Sikhs coming to Delhi from Punjab for the 1982 Asian Games are subjected to general harassment.

1982–1987 Giani Zail Singh's five-year period as president of India.

1984 4 June: The government of India launches an attack on the Golden Temple and its environs. Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale and many others are killed. **31 October:** Indira Gandhi is assassinated by her Sikh bodyguards. This is followed on **1 November** by a massacre of Sikhs, particularly in Delhi and New Delhi. Rajiv Gandhi succeeds his mother as prime minister.

1985 24 July: An accord is signed between Rajiv Gandhi and the Sikh leader Harchand Singh Longowal, agreeing that the city of Chandigarh, the joint capital of the Punjab and Haryana, should be transferred to the Punjab; that the canal waters issues should be considered by a judge of the Supreme Court; and that other grievances of the Sikhs should be reexamined.

1985 20 August: Longowal is assassinated. The terms of the accord remained unfulfilled.

1985–1992 Turmoil in the Punjab, with many casualties. Sikh underground movements exercise considerable influence. The police are accused of serious brutality. Sikh leaders during this period include Parkash Singh Badal, Gurcharan Singh Tohra, and Simranjeet Singh Mann. Much of the strife is exacerbated by certain Sikhs and Sikh groups in the diaspora, groups which also target critical scholarship and scholars as just one other nefarious means by which the ends of the Indian government (believed to be committed to eradicating Sikhism) are being met. By the end of 1992, the government of India secures the upper hand, and an uneasy peace is established in the Punjab.

1993–2004 Since 1993, peace has returned to the Punjab. The principal issues involving the Sikhs (investigation of the 1984 killings, the status of Chandigarh, canal waters, etc.) remain, however, unresolved. Sikhs outside of India continue putting pressure on the subcontinent.

1998 The SGPC adopts the Nanakshahi calendar.

1999–2000 Bibi Jagir Kaur heads the SGPC, the first Sikh woman to do so.

2004 Dr. Manmohan Singh becomes prime minister of India in a Congress government.

2009 9 July: Death of William Hewat McLeod.

2011 Punjab and Haryana High Courts restore voting rights for Sahaj-dhari Sikhs in the SGPC.

2013 14 November–26 December: Gurbakhsh Singh Khalsa holds a hunger strike to secure the release of six Sikh activists who had been languishing in the jails of Punjab since the early 1990s. These six Sikhs were arrested in connection with the murder of the Punjab's chief minister, Beant Singh, in August 1995. By the end of 2013, four of these men had been released as a result.

Introduction

Sikhism has long been a little-understood religion. Although Sikhs are more numerous than is generally supposed, their prominence has been seen largely in terms of military activity or sports. Until recently they resided almost exclusively in northwest India, and few major events involving them enlisted the attention of the outside world. Moreover, Sikhs themselves have disagreed on the meaning of the faith they affirm, with some seeing it as a part of the wider field of Hindu India and others insisting that it is a separate faith. Westerners who knew a little about the Sikhs vaguely regarded the religion as a blend of Hinduism and Islam.

Today the Sikhs and their religion are at last exciting interest and receiving attention, reflected in the growing number of encyclopedias and dictionaries of Sikhism. The world is slowly gaining awareness of the Sikh religion as a distinctive faith. This is a result both of the total number of Sikhs and the fact that they comprise a highly mobile community that numbers approximately 20 million worldwide. About a million live outside India, constituting a significant minority in the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States. Many of them are highly visible, particularly the men, who wear beards and turbans, and they naturally attract attention in their new countries of domicile.

Less fortunately, the Sikh community has in recent years been the object of considerable interest to the outside world as a result of political differences with the government of India. These led in 1984 to an assault by the Indian army on the Golden Temple of the Sikhs and to several years of serious disturbance in the Sikh home state, the Punjab. The situation has now quieted, but for many people the memory still remains, and not all who remember it are Sikhs.

One result of this confrontation with the government of India has been a further emphasis on the separate nature of the Sikh religion. This was claimed by some Sikh scholars at the end of the 19th century, and during the 100 years since it has won increasing acceptance. The recent troubles have further strengthened this conviction for many Sikhs.

This confidence has been even further reinforced by the events precipitated by the horrific tragedy of 9 September 2001. In the wake of this disaster, Sikhs, especially male Khalsa Sikhs who don the turban and beard of the Khalsa tradition, have been mistaken for al-Qaeda operatives. Such misidentifications resulted in the murder of Balbir Singh Sodhi in Arizona; the massacre at the gurdwara in Oak Creek, Wisconsin, by a white supremacist on 5

August 2012; and the horrific attack on Dr. Prabhjot Singh in New York's Harlem in September 2013. Such events have ensured that Sikhs and Sikh identity are becoming more visible outside of India, a visibility prompting a desire to understand the intricacies of the Sikh tradition, its history and religion, and its differences from other religious and cultural traditions. This development, despite its impetus, is welcome.

One such Sikh reaction to this development is the dissemination of Sikh history, which is inextricably intertwined with Sikh religion. Indeed, it is impossible to study the religion of the Sikhs without reference to their history. Likewise, it is impossible to study the history without frequent recourse to their religion. The religion was born in historical events and continues to evolve in intimate response to the unfolding pattern of events. To some extent this can be said of any religion. It is abundantly true of Sikhism.

THE TEACHINGS OF NANAK

Sikhism traces its beginnings to Guru Nanak, who was born in 1469 and died in 1538 or 1539. With the life of Guru Nanak, the account of the Sikh faith begins, all Sikhs acknowledging him as their founder. Stories of the life of Nanak abound, but they are related in hagiographies known as *janam-sakhis*, and very few can be authenticated. Many of them are, as one would expect, plainly impossible. All that is known with certainty concerning his life is as follows: Nanak was a Hindu, born in the Punjab village of Talvandi, 40 miles west of Lahore. He was sent to the town of Sultanpur and worked in the local ruler's commissariat. While there, he evidently underwent the experience that convinced him of his divine mission. For several years he journeyed around India and perhaps beyond, returning to the Punjab in the early 1520s. He spent his final years in the village of Kartarpur on the Ravi River, receiving the people who came to hear the teachings that were increasingly winning him a following. Beyond this there is little to add with any assurance, apart from the names of some of his relatives.

Although the details of his life are sketchy, his teachings can be positively known. This is due to the copious works he left, which have been treasured by his Sikhs as a part of the *Adi Granth* (the Sikh scripture). It is clear that Nanak emerged as a religious teacher whose ideas had a certain affinity with those of what scholars refer to as the Sant tradition of northern India, commonly considered part of the Bhakti movement, as indeed it was. Beyond this we enter into a controversial terrain. For many pious Sikhs and scholars of the tradition, Guru Nanak's teachings and indeed the life he lived in which those teachings became manifest stood well outside of the Sant tradition, fostering a distinction that was clear, absolute, and revolutionary. For others,

however, Guru Nanak refracted this Sant inheritance through the dynamic lens of his own personality and understandings, producing an ideology that was both distinct and similar. Regardless of one's position, however, both interpretations are agreed in regard to Nanak's uniqueness. Although Nanak may or may not have been a part of the so-called Sant movement, his teachings nevertheless had an enduring effect among Sikhs and the society of his day and today.

These teachings certainly drew most of their support from Hindus, but laid paramount stress on the conviction that the one God in whom they believed could never be represented in visible form. Religion for both the Sants and Guru Nanak was wholly inward, and they meditated on God. For them, there could be no outward forms, no temple nor mosque, no holy scriptures, no sacred person such as a Hindu Brahman or a Muslim qazi. Idols were totally rejected, as were castes.

While most Sants were in fact low caste or Outcaste, Guru Nanak was a conspicuous exception. Like all of the Sikh Gurus, he was a Khatri, a highly ranked mercantile caste. This made no difference to the message he communicated, which was as rigorous with regard to caste as that of any other Sant. Caste was useless when it came to liberation, and the Outcaste had just as good a chance of attaining it as the Brahman or anyone else. Those who meditate regularly will at last attain liberation from the bonds of transmigration.

For Nanak the key to liberation lay in the *nām* (the divine name). All that could be affirmed concerning Akal Purakh (God) was an aspect of the *nām*, and the evidences of the *nām* lay all around and within a person. Akal Purakh was *sarab viāpak*, everywhere present, and the person who was spiritually attuned to Akal Purakh would increasingly comprehend the manifold presence of the *nām*. Meditate on the *nām* in all its aspects (*nām simaran*), and the believer would progressively find liberation. By the regular practice of *nām simaran*, a person would achieve a final harmony of spirit in which the endless wheel of death and rebirth would be stilled, and the soul would find ultimate peace.

This was the message that Nanak communicated to all who would hear him. It required no separation from the life of the world, and it could be followed by any person, regardless of present caste or past deeds. Above all, it was wholly internal, a discipline to be followed without any assistance from sacred persons or sacred things. Regular meditation was the one requirement. *Nām simaran* could consist of the simple repetition of meaningful words (words such as *sat nām*, "true is the name," or the popular modern name for God, *vāhigurū*); it could be the singing of hymns that told the glories of the *nām*; or it could be deep meditation within. These teachings were delivered with clarity, and the hymns that express them are noted for their beauty. Such ideas are very much in keeping with those of the Sants.

The origins of the Sant movement were found primarily in Vaishnava bhakti, or devotion to Vishnu, with the all-important difference that Akal Purakh (unlike Vishnu in all his incarnations) was strictly without form (*nirgun*). The emphasis on formlessness and the need for inner meditation evidently owe something to the beliefs of the Naths. The Naths (or the Kanphat yogis) were followers of the semi-legendary Gorakhnath (dated sometime before 1200). Nanak certainly was no Nath and criticized them openly. The Naths, however, laid paramount stress on interior discipline, and there are clear evidences of their influence on some other members of the Sant tradition (particularly Kabir).

Nanak's teachings have been represented by Westerners, as already noted, as a syncretic mix of Hindu and Muslim beliefs. This is not correct. An analysis of the works of Nanak reveals that although Guru Nanak and his Sikhs subsequently operated in the Punjab frontier of the eastern Islamicate, very little in the First Master's teachings can be traced to a Muslim source. The Sant tradition was part of the wide area of Hindu belief, and any suggestion that it or the teachings of Nanak were syncretic is a mistake. Hindu and Muslim ways could be, for Nanak, either true or false. They were true if they upheld interior devotion, and they were false if they put their trust in exterior symbols, such as temples or mosques.

Is Sikhism merely another expression of the Hindu tradition? For a modern Sikh the answer would usually be no. In Nanak's time the question was unlikely to arise. The particular teachings that he imparted would not have marked the Sikhs as significantly different from their Punjabi neighbors, though Nanak certainly distanced himself from those (whether Hindu or Muslim) who preached a conventional form of religion with its dependence on externals. In this sense, the religion he taught transcended both Hindu tradition and Islam.

There are interpreters who nevertheless believe that the real difference only came with the Tenth and last Guru, Guru Gobind Singh. Such apparent differences notwithstanding, other Sikh readers underscore the idea that since all of the Gurus possessed the same divine light that was originally within Guru Nanak, a decision, seminal or otherwise, taken by any of the subsequent nine Gurus was in consonance with those of the First Master himself.

At the end of the 17th century, Guru Gobind Singh formed the core of his followers into the Khalsa, which thereafter assumed what most Sikhs agree to be the dominant form of Sikhism. The Khalsa, though, was still regarded by most of its members as a special form of India's religious landscape without any clear sense of being a separate faith. There were nevertheless a number of Khalsa Sikhs and their observers who held the opinion that the Khalsa was something very much unique, established in the world as a new *dīn* or dharam or panth. This was certainly the dominant opinion as we entered the 20th century. Such was shaped more or less at the end of the 19th

century, during which there developed the Singh Sabha movement, and as a result of the keen scrutiny of some Singh Sabha members, there evolved the unambiguous conviction of Sikhism as a wholly distinct and separate religion and its Khalsa as the dominant form of Sikh identity. This conviction is now generally accepted.

In Nanak's own time, the person who accepted his teachings became his Sikh, or "learner," and the community of his followers came to be known as the Nanak-panth, those who followed the way of Nanak. Later the name Nanak was dropped and the term applied to the Sikh community became simply the Panth. The word *panth* is commonly used in India for the disciples of a particular person or doctrine, but for the Sikhs it has a special meaning; if written in English, it is better spelled with a capital *P*. The Sikh community is the Panth, and is referred to as such in this volume.

Nanak was not usually called Guru by his early followers, the name Baba (Father) being preferred. To later generations of Sikhs, however, he was the one who had revealed the truth and enshrined it in works of great beauty. As such he was their Guru, and so too were his nine successors. It is believed that when the Tenth Guru announced that with his death the line of personal Gurus would end, the title passed to the Granth Sahib (the Adi Granth), which contained their teachings, and it thus came to be known as the Guru Granth Sahib.

THE SUCCESSORS OF NANAK

Nanak appointed one of his devoted disciples to follow him, a man called Lahina, who became the Second Guru, under the name of Angad (1538/39–1552). Guru Angad continued to direct the Panth in the manner of Nanak, but by the time he was succeeded by Guru Amar Das (1552–1574) times were changing. To meet the needs of a Panth growing to maturity, Amar Das appointed his village of Goindval as a pilgrimage center, digging there a *bāolī*, or sacred well, where pilgrims were expected to bathe. Devout Sikhs were appointed as *mañjīs* to engage in preaching, and particular days (notably Diwali) were designated festival days. On these days, Sikhs, when practicable, were encouraged to visit Goindval and receive the Master's blessing. The various hymns of his two predecessors were recorded, together with his own, in what came to be known as the Goindval Pothis (volumes).

To modern eyes it may seem that Amar Das was steering the Panth away from the inward emphasis taught by Nanak, setting up a visible center of pilgrimage, and recording hymns in a visible scripture. Amar Das, however, had to contend with a changing situation. The original Sikhs had joined the Panth from personal conviction and required little organization to hold them

together. Now the Panth included many who had been born into it, and it was extending its geographical bounds as Sikh traders carried their faith to distant places. A firmer organization was required, and Guru Amar Das was providing the Panth with a rudimentary one. It was, moreover, seen to be the actions of the first and only Guru, as earlier mentioned, since Sikhs believe that the 10 persons who occupied the position of Guru were providing a habitation for the one eternal Guru. As 10 torches can successively pass on the same flame, so the 10 Gurus were really one. Decisions taken by Guru Amar Das were therefore decisions that Guru Nanak would have taken in the changing circumstances.

The Fourth Guru was Ram Das (1574–1581), the son-in-law of Amar Das, who moved the center of the Panth to the new foundation of Amritsar. His youngest son, Arjan, became the Fifth Guru (1581–1606), and from then onward all the Gurus were male descendants of Ram Das. Guru Arjan is important for two reasons. The first was the delivery to his Sikhs of a formal scripture, the *Adi Granth*, which built on the extensive foundations laid by the Goindval Pothis. Later, the *Adi Granth* was supplemented by the compositions of the ninth Guru. The scripture was installed in the central shrine of Amritsar known as Harimandir Sahib, which eventually achieved renown as the celebrated Golden Temple. (At the death of the Tenth and last Guru the scripture came to be regarded, as already noted, as the permanent habitation of the eternal Guru and is accordingly known as the *Guru Granth Sahib*.)

The second reason was the manner of Arjan's death, interpreted by Sikhs as the first martyrdom. At that time, north India was ruled by the Mughal dynasty, and the Mughals were apparently becoming concerned at the growth of the Panth, points one discerns from Mughal documents. Guru Arjan was arrested and died in Mughal custody, likely through execution.

Arjan was succeeded by his only son, Hargobind (1606–1644), under whom the Panth resorted to arms to protect itself from Mughal hostility. This change has been interpreted as the introduction of *mīrī/pīrī* by Hargobind. As Guru he maintained his five predecessors' emphasis on spiritual matters (*pīrī*). The new element was the willingness to engage in worldly affairs and to physically fight for the Panth's preservation (*mīrī*). This was symbolized by the two swords of the Guru and by the erection of Akal Takhat or "Throne of the Immortal One," the worldly counterpart to the spiritual quality of the neighboring Harimandir Sahib.

Guru Hargobind was eventually compelled to withdraw from the plains of the Punjab and took up residence at Kiratpur on the edge of the Shivalik Hills, overlooking the plains. His three successors all spent the greater part of their tenure as Guru in the Shivaliks, generally safe from Mughal enmity. The seventh Guru was a grandson of Hargobind named Har Rai (1644–1661), and he was followed by his son Har Krishan (1661–1664). Har Krishan was a small child and died in Delhi of smallpox after a short tenure.

His dying words, *bābā bakāle*, were understood to indicate that his choice of a successor was a surviving son of Hargobind. Although this uncle had achieved some note as a warrior during the time of his father, he had subsequently retired from such a life, opting to live quietly in the Punjab village of Bakala. This was Guru Tegh Bahadur (1664–1675). Taking up the mantle of guruship in the light of what was certainly the opposition of the Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb, Tegh Bahadur became, in the words of one historian, the Sikh “Prophet of Assurance,” traveling throughout northern and eastern India, providing a message of hope to scattered Sikh sangats who may have been concerned at the empire’s turn toward Sunni Islam orthodoxy. It was perhaps for this message, which may have been interpreted as one of defiance, that in 1675 Guru Tegh Bahadur was summoned to Delhi and summarily executed by the Mughals, along with some of his closest disciples, at Chandni Chauk, a stone’s throw away from the Red Fort, thus becoming the second Guru to be martyred.

GURU GOBIND SINGH AND THE KHALSA

When Tegh Bahadur was executed, his only son, Gobind Rai (later Gobind Singh, 1675–1708), was still a young boy. The execution is said to have had a profound effect on the child. Little is known of his upbringing in the Shivalik Hills. He emerged as the leader of his Sikhs, both a spiritual and secular ruler, and was often forced to resort to arms in order to sustain his position as the ruler of a small Shivalik principality. Such an environment provided the Tenth Sikh Guru with the opportunity to engage in an interesting balancing act, to enact a rule that was consciously aligned with the most profound principles noted in the Guru Granth Sahib yet one that was also simultaneously flexible enough to accommodate the political contingencies of his day. It was likely from such an attempt that in 1699, or shortly before, Guru Gobind Singh took the most critical decision in all Sikh history when he established the order of the Khalsa.

The Guru evidently already had a Khalsa, which comprised those Sikhs under his direct supervision. Most Sikhs, however, were under the intermediate supervision of masands, men appointed to watch over the Guru’s Sikhs and convey their offerings to him. The masands, first instituted by Guru Ram Das, had by this time grown corrupt and dangerously independent. Guru Gobind Singh therefore decided to suppress them and have all his Sikhs join his own Khalsa.

This appears to have been one reason for the creation of the order, but there was clearly more to it than this. Those who joined the Khalsa were to adopt a highly visible appearance, which was to include uncut hair and the

bearing of weapons. Just what the uniform precisely was is far from clear, but tradition is adamant that it included the Five Ks: *kes* (uncut hair), *kañghā* (comb), *karā* (iron or steel ring for the wrist), *kirpān* (sword or dagger), and *kachh* or *kachhahirā* (breeches that must not come below the knee). The Five Ks actually evolved during the 18th and 19th centuries, but on this point tradition brooks no doubt. The same applies to the Rahit, or Code of Belief and Conduct, which the Guru is said to have delivered at the same time. It too evolved during the next century and a half, in accordance with the pressures of the period (particularly the battles of the 18th century) from a nucleus imparted by the Guru.

The actual details are far from clear, but there can be no doubt that the Guru inaugurated the Khalsa and that he summoned all who were committed to his cause to join it. This was done through a rite of initiation, each candidate swearing allegiance to the Guru's way. Each male added *Singh* to his name, and each female added *Kaur*. Many of his followers joined, particularly members of the Jat caste. Others held back, continuing to regard themselves as Sikhs but not as Sikhs of the Khalsa. Those who did join rendered themselves conspicuous by their appearance. It is said that the Guru vowed that never again would Sikhs be able to conceal their identity as they had done when his father was executed. One point that must be noted here is tradition's strong conviction that after having initiated the first five Sikhs into the order of the Khalsa, collectively known as the Panj Piare, or "Cherished Five," the Tenth Guru then had the five of them initiate him into it. This memory of the event would subsequently provide a basis for the Sikh doctrine of Guru Panth or Guru Khalsa, the belief that the eternal Guru mystically resides within any gathering of five pious Khalsa Sikhs. Clearly the modern-day *khaṇḍe dī pāhul* ceremony of Khalsa initiation, during which Sikhs are brought into the Khalsa fold by five Khalsa Sikhs (plus one), reflects this doctrine.

The inauguration of the Khalsa raises the fact that its emphasis on exterior symbols is the direct antithesis of Nanak's insistence on the interior nature of religious belief. The answer lies in the same justification applied to the changes introduced by Amar Das, namely, that the decisions were taken by the one eternal Guru in accordance with the changed circumstances of the time. Belief in the one eternal Guru is fundamental for Sikhs. Gobind Singh faced differing circumstances that demanded the obligation to fight for justice against the forces of evil. It was to meet this demand that the Khalsa was created. For a large number of Sikhs today, therefore, the creation of the Khalsa ushered into India an egalitarian revolution that began with the very teachings of Guru Nanak. Put simply, the inauguration of this august order in 1699 made manifest the uniqueness of Sikhs and Sikh teachings implied in Guru Nanak's ideology, separating Sikhs ideologically from all others.

Serious trouble followed after the creation of the Khalsa. The Guru was besieged in his fortress of Anandpur by Shivalik enemies allied with Mughal forces from Sirhind. He was obliged to evacuate Anandpur in 1704 and to fight his way through to the safety of southern Punjab. In the process he lost two of his four sons to the governor of Sirhind, who put them to death by walling them up. According to powerful Sikh traditions, this was only done after the Guru's two youngest sons heroically refused to embrace Islam as their religion. The other two older sons were killed during the escape, valiantly defending their father and all he stood for at the Battle of Chamkaur in early 1705. A defiant letter, the *Zafar-nāmā*, was dispatched to the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb rebuking his role in both the siege of Anandpur and the subsequent deaths of the Guru's four sons. In 1707 Aurangzeb died, and the Guru traveled south with his successor, Bahadur Shah, apparently in order to negotiate peace between the two and to deal effectively with the matter of the Guru's loss of Anandpur. In the Deccan town of Nander, he was assassinated by a Ruhila Afghan who, epistles from the Mughal court note, was Jamshaid Khan.

SUBSEQUENT SIKH HISTORY

Following the death of Guru Gobind Singh in 1708, the Punjab declined into almost a century of intermittent warfare. Sikh tradition represents it as a century in which a Sikh rebellion was followed by an attempt to exterminate the Panth. This was answered by heroic deeds, swinging the balance of power increasingly in favor of the Panth. Ultimately, the century was crowned by the success of Ranjit Singh, who emerged as maharaja of the Punjab in 1801.

The rebellion against the Mughals was led by Banda Bahadur (Banda the Brave), whom Sikh tradition remembers as Banda Singh Bahadur. Banda was initially a recluse who was selected by Guru Gobind Singh shortly before his death in Nander and who, after several years of mixed fortunes, was eventually captured and cruelly executed in 1716. The attempt to exterminate or (more likely) to bring the Panth under strict control was eventually marked by the appearance of the Sikh misls in the middle years of the century. These were territorial forces, each under the command of its own leader. The middle years of the century were also marked by the invasions of the Afghan ruler, Ahmad Shah Abdali. The Sikh misls gradually won the upper hand but used their success to fight among themselves. Eventually one of them was able to assert his hold over all the others, achieving his objectives by friendship, marriage alliances, and force. This was Ranjit Singh of the Shukerchakia misl.

The four decades of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's reign are regarded as a period of glory. Certainly, Ranjit Singh extended the bounds of his kingdom in three directions and was prevented from doing so in the fourth only by the arrival of the British. The Sutlej River formed the border between the two. In one respect, however, Ranjit Singh's reign was not a success. He created a powerful army along European lines, but he did not succeed in creating a firm financial base for it. Moreover, Ranjit Singh did little to prepare his kingdom for the period after his death. When he died in 1839, the kingdom rapidly declined into confusion and was annexed to British India in 1849, following two Anglo-Sikh wars.

The Sikhs were saved from a corresponding decline in morale by the appearance of the Singh Sabha movement. Founded in 1873 to arrest this decline, the Singh Sabha soon split into two major groups. One, centered in Amritsar, comprised the Sanatan ("orthodox") Sikhs, formed by old leaders (both social and religious) and some scholars who regarded the Panth as a special form of the Hindu tradition. The other, with its chief center in Lahore, was the Tat ("true") Khalsa. This comprised the majority of scholars and insisted that the Panth was clearly distinct from all other religious systems. Numerous other Singh Sabhas were formed in cities, towns, and even villages, each one usually in sympathy with either Amritsar or Lahore. A third extremist opinion found expression in the Bhasaur Singh Sabha.

After several decades of controversy, the Tat Khalsa emerged as the victor, and ever since references to the Singh Sabha movement have assumed a Tat Khalsa meaning. By the end of the second decade of the 20th century, it was overtaken by the Akali Dal, a new political party that gave expression to the revived sense of Sikh identity. The Akali Dal immediately entered into a vigorous dispute with the British government of the Punjab for the control of the Sikh gurdwaras (temples), known as the Gurdwara Reform Movement, and in 1925 the passage of the Sikh Gurdwaras Act signaled their complete victory.

The act further strengthened the hold of the Khalsa on the Panth. It embodied a definition of a Sikh that leaned strongly toward the exclusivist Khalsa view, as opposed to the broader inclusive view of those Sikhs who cut their hair and plainly were not members of the Khalsa.

When India won its independence from Britain in 1947, the Sikhs opted for India and a large-scale migration from Pakistan followed. Although the proportion of Sikhs in the much smaller Indian Punjab was significantly higher than in the total Punjab, they were still in a minority. After much agitation, the government of India agreed to Punjabi Suba (Punjabi State) in 1966, and those areas that had declared themselves to have a majority of Hindi speakers were separated from the Punjab, most of them to form the new state of Haryana. The Sikhs were now a majority in the Punjab, but this did not mean a stable rule for the avowedly Sikh political party, the Akali

Dal. The Akali Dal represented a significant proportion of Sikh landowners, and the conviction rapidly grew that the central government was hostile to their interests.

In the early 1980s, the militant Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale appeared as an uncompromising leader and, rapidly gathering strength in the Panth, occupied the precincts of the Golden Temple. In June 1984, the government of India committed a serious mistake by sending the army into the Golden Temple area. Only after fighting against very heavy opposition did it manage to kill Bhindranvale. Several years of grievous disorder followed, with many Sikhs claiming that their only future lay in the creation of Khalistan, or independent Punjab. In late 1992 the forces of the government of India were eventually able to kill or capture most of the leading dissidents, and an uneasy peace has now returned to the Punjab.

SIKH IDENTITY

A point that is still largely misunderstood by the outside world concerns the identity of Sikhs. Those having a slight acquaintance with the Panth generally identify a male Sikh as having a beard and a turban. This is not always the case, particularly outside India. Recall from the discussion above that those who joined the Khalsa adopted the Khalsa Rahit, whereas those who declined cut their hair and did not observe the Rahit.

This distinction identifies two main groups of Sikhs. Those who take initiation into the Khalsa are known as Amrit-dhari Sikhs, having received the *amrit*, or water of baptism. Those who held back adopted the name Sahaj-dhari Sikhs, a term that is variously construed (see SAHAJ-DHĀRĪ in the dictionary). Actually, three groups of Sikhs were indicated. Those who do not take initiation but observe the fundamentals of the Rahit (particularly the uncut hair) are known as Kes-dhari Sikhs, those who preserve their hair (also *Kes* or *Kesh-dhari*). The Kes-dharis are normally indistinguishable from the Amrit-dharis and form a far larger group within the Panth. No statistics exist, but it is generally assumed that only about 15 percent are Amrit-dharis. The Kes-dharis as well as the Amrit-dharis are generally regarded as constituting the Khalsa.

These were the three main groups within the Panth until relatively recently. The overwhelming majority of Sikhs were rural, and the vast majority of them were generally considered to be Amrit-dharis or Kes-dharis (though the loyalty of many Kes-dharis to the Khalsa Rahit was distinctly shaky). The Sahaj-dharis were mainly urban dwellers belonging to certain castes, and their numbers are relatively few today. (This point can, however, be argued. There are many Punjabi Hindus who might hesitate to call themselves Sahaj-

dhari Sikhs, but their devotion to the religion of the Gurus makes them in every way the same as the Sahaj-dharis.) Particularly among the migrants, however, there is a marked tendency on the part of Khalsa Sikhs to abandon their beards and turbans. Consequently, those living in England or North America do not proclaim their identity and so remain invisible Sikhs. For this group no name exists, though they are certainly identifiable as a separate group in overseas countries. Coming from Khalsa families, they are easily recognized by the fact that the men still have Singh as a middle or last name, and the women have Kaur.

Finally there are the Patit Sikhs. An Amrit-dhari who commits any one of four specified sins (notably having their hair cut or smoking tobacco) is declared a Patit (fallen) Sikh. Kes-dharis can also be regarded as Patits if they flagrantly disobey the prime Rahit. Few Sikhs are actually declared to be Patit, however, and the category exists more as a notional form, serving to assert the wrongness of falling away from Khalsa standards.

CONCERNING TRADITION

Earlier in this introduction the impossibility of explaining the Sikh religion without constant reference to Sikh history and tradition was emphasized. There is one other point that also requires emphasis. This is the all-important meaning that should be attached to the words “tradition” or “traditional” and the part they play in the interpretation adopted here for the explanation of various items.

With reference to Sikh history, tradition means that which is handed down within the Panth. The material thus passed down is not subjected to rigorous scrutiny, but for a traditionalist historian that is not necessary. It is known to be true because it is said to be derived from sources that the Panth believes to be absolutely secure. The janam-sakhis, for example, are traditionally known to be generally accurate because they deal with matters concerning the life of the first Guru, and they have been recorded by faithful followers of the Guru. Occasionally they may err with regard to detail, but they are substantially accurate. When the material derives from the Gurus themselves or is intimately associated with them, it is treated as wholly and absolutely beyond reproach. (See TRADITION in the dictionary.) One simply cannot deny the validity of the traditional for those very cherished traditions, and their constant retellings have inspired Sikhs to perform acts of humble piety and daring courage.

Nevertheless, this difference needs to be understood, for clearly there is fundamental disagreement on this point. It covers a whole range of historical method, but in the last analysis it comes down to the difference between two

approaches. On one side stands the historian of religions, who trusts traditional sources; on the other the one who views such sources with skepticism. Within each camp, of course, there are differences of opinion. Some of the traditionalists impart a degree of rigor to their research, while others view the traditions as true in all essential respects. Likewise, one expects degrees of skepticism from the other side, some giving traditional sources a measure of cautious trust while others are thoroughgoing in their criticism of them. But almost all fall within the territory marked out as either traditional or skeptical. The historian who can claim to have a foot in both camps is a very rare person indeed, though certainly that person may exist.

A major example concerns the Sikh scripture, the *Adi Granth*. According to the traditional view, the text is beyond investigation. The *Adi Granth* is perfect because it came to us through perfect men, and there is no possibility of any research into it.

Not all adherents of the traditional school would carry the definition as far as that, but essentially they would agree with its substance. The general tenor of their interpretation makes this clear. Opposed to it are religious historians of the opposite camp, who embrace the skeptical view with its rigorous examination of sources. For them the text of the *Adi Granth* is indeed open to investigation. The investigation must be conducted in a reverential manner, for the researcher needs to be acutely aware that this is sacred ground that is being traversed. At the same time, the *Adi Granth* must be available for research, for otherwise a highly important element in religious studies will not be understood.

Another example is provided by questions associated with the Singh Sabha period in Sikh history. (See BHASAU SINGH SABHA, SANATAN SIKHS, SINGH SABHA MOVEMENT, and TAT KHĀLSĀ in the dictionary.) Whereas the traditional historian of religion will conduct research on the basis of a general acceptance of the truth of the Singh Sabha interpretation, the thoroughgoing skeptical historian will assume the reverse. Or at least, the interpretation will be treated as the product of scholars who were themselves a part of the Singh Sabha movement (men such as Vir Singh or Kahn Singh Nabha) and will be set aside. Study is then conducted on the basis of modern historical research, employing such skills as sociology and linguistics. Although some of the results may agree with earlier interpretations, others assuredly will not. A scholar employing this approach will break open the Singh Sabha movement and demonstrate that it was the result of at least three major factions, one of which (the Tat Khalsa) eventually carried the day and assumed the title of the whole Singh Sabha movement. This awareness makes an enormously important beginning to the task of interpreting the period.

No apology is given for this definition because the meaning it expresses is genuinely believed to be true. It means, however, that the explanations given for various features of Sikh history and religion (including some major ones) differ from those found in other dictionaries and encyclopedias. These occur, for example, in the *Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, published by Punjabi University in Patiala. The encyclopedia is much larger than this dictionary (the complete set is composed of four volumes), and much sound work has gone into its preparation. For these and other reasons, it will be a useful tool to the person working on various aspects of Sikh history and religion. It is, though, based on a different understanding of the nature of religious truth. Whereas it takes its stand on the general reliability of tradition, this historical dictionary adopts the contrary view.

Needless to say, the interpretation reached by skeptical historians of religion will not stand forever, each generation of historians finding new insights and consequently producing new interpretations. But that is the nature of history, or at least of the skeptical variety. History is constantly being rewritten and no interpretation is forever fixed.

A

ABDULLA, BHAI. According to Sikh tradition, Abdul, originally from the village of Sursingh, was part of the first *ḡhadḡhī* jatha, which was composed of himself and his companion Bhai Nattha. The tradition noted in the *Gurbilās Pātishāhī Chhevīn* continues that, at the time of **Guru Hargobind**'s investiture as the Sixth Guru in 1606, Abdul and Nattha sang a heroic ballad to mark the occasion.

See also NATTHA, BHAI.

ABDUS SAMAD KHAN (?–1737). The **Mughal** governor of Lahore (from 1713 to 1726), who in 1715 captured **Banda** and for the next five years continued to wage war against **Khalsa** Sikhs, driving them into hiding. Thereafter, with affairs more stable, he relaxed his firm policy. In 1726 he was transferred to **Multan** and was succeeded in Lahore by his son **Zakariya Khan**. As partial reward for the success he achieved in his various campaigns, in particular that against Banda and the Sikhs, the emperors granted him titles such as *daler jang* (courageous in battle) and *saifuddaulā* (sword of the state).

ABILCHALNAGAR (“THE CITY RESOLUTE”). *See* NANDER (NANDED).

ABLUTION. *See* ISHNĀN.

ABORTION. Sikhs today are debating the question of abortion. In recent years, with advances in amniocentesis and particularly in ultrasound, the rate of abortions of females has increased among the Sikhs, as with other communities in India. Boys are still greatly preferred to girls, and this preference is present in a large majority of **Sikh** families. Ultrasound permits the sex of the fetus to be ascertained while there is still time for abortion to take place, and a female fetus is often aborted. This trend will produce a gender imbalance throughout India in the future. The incidence is also growing among the Sikhs and other Indians of the diaspora.

ABUL FAZL 'ALLAMI (1551–1602). The famous minister and secretary of the Emperor **Muhammad Jalaluddin Akbar**, author of the *Akbār-nāmah* and the *Ain-i Akbārī*. Abul Fazl's family was well placed in the **Mughal** darbar of Akbar as his father, Shaikh Mubarak, was the principal author behind the emperor's 1579 *maḥẓar* ("decree," often understood to be Akbar's doctrine of infallibility), and his brother, Abul Faizi, was for a time the court's poet laureate (*malikushshu'ārā*). Abul Fazl was a master of Persian prose, and his accounts of the emperor were often used to train young clerks in epistolography. He also wrote of the meeting between **Guru Arjan** and Akbar in November 1598. In 1602 he was assassinated on the orders of Akbar's eldest son, Salim, who would go on to become the emperor **Jahangir**.

ACHAL BATALA. A place near Batala in Gurdaspur District, where **Guru Nanak** is said to have debated with **Nath** yogis.

AD DHARM. A protest movement in **Doaba** of **Chamars** (including Sikh **Ramdasias**), founded in 1926 and initially led by Mangoo Ram of Garshankar tahsil in Hoshiarpur District. Mangoo Ram maintained that Chamars could not be regarded as **Hindus**, Muslims, or **Sikhs**. They were the original inhabitants of India, and their religious beliefs were the Ad Dharm, or "Original Faith." Ad Dharm is still strong among Chamars in Central **Punjab**.

See also CASTE; DALIT.

ĀDI GRANTH. The principal Sikh scripture. Anthologies of religious songs were common in late medieval India, and one had already been collected during the time of the Third **Guru**, **Amar Das**. This three- or four-volume work was known as the **Mohan Pothis** or **Goindval Pothis**. According to tradition, **Guru Arjan** was persuaded of the need to compile a definitive scripture because other claimants were circulating their own works, spuriously attaching the name **Nanak** to them. A substantial base was provided by several drafts of the Goindval Pothis, which contained all the works of the first three Gurus together with those of **Sant** poets, and was ordered according to the pattern of *rāg* and author that Guru Arjan followed. The task was carried out in **Amritsar** from 1603 to 1604. For this purpose Guru Arjan had prepared a number of working drafts. To the Goindval Pothis he added the works of his father, **Guru Ram Das**, and his own substantial array of compositions.

This large manuscript, recorded by **Bhai Gurdas**, is held in **Kartarpur** (Jalandhar District) and is known as the **Kartarpur bir** (volume). Several drafts of Guru Arjan's collection had been prepared, and this one served as the master draft, which later scribes copied. The collection reached its final

form with the addition of the works of the Ninth Guru, **Tegh Bahadur**, and later came to be known as the **Adi Granth** (the “original” Granth) to distinguish it from the **Dasam Granth**. There are thus four recognizable stages in its compilation: the **Goindval Pothis**, several drafts, the Kartarpur recension, and finally the **Adi Granth**. The collection proved to be of crucial importance, particularly after the death of the Tenth and last Guru, **Guru Gobind Singh**, when the sacred volume came to be accepted as the literal embodiment of the eternal Guru. As such, it came to be called the **Guru Granth Sahib**, “the sacred volume which is the Guru.” The full title used today is **Adi Sri Guru Granth Sahibji**. The Supreme Court of India recognizes it as a juristic person, the only sacred scripture anywhere granted this status.

ADI GRANTH BANNO RECENSION. In addition to the standard **Kartarpur** text of the **Adi Granth**, there also exists the Banno recension, which differs from Kartarpur at three significant points and also incorporates some concluding works that Kartarpur lacks. One of the three textual differences is important. Banno includes a work said to be by **Guru Arjan** that appears in the Kartarpur version only as the opening couplet followed by a blank space. This hymn describes how traditional puberty rites were conducted for the future **Guru Hargobind**, including the shaving of his head. This point has generated considerable controversy in the **Panth**. The consensus still holds that the Banno version was amended later and that the text of Kartarpur still stands as the correct one. The dispute, however, continues. The recension is also called the Mangat, or the Khari, version, *khārī* meaning “brackish” or (in this context) “spurious.” Mangat is the village from which the copyist of the Banno recension is said to have come. Another tradition traces the origin of “Khari” to Khara, which was evidently an earlier name for the village.

See also BANNO BĪR; DAMDAMĪ BĪR; KARTĀRPUR BĪR.

ADI GRANTH BHOG. For pious **Sikhs**, the **Guru Granth Sahib** contains the living presence of the eternal **Guru**. Like the human body in which the Guru’s *joti*, or light, is also present, the book itself is a physical vessel that is subject to decay. Unlike other books, it cannot be simply discarded when its physical structure is frayed and it becomes *biradh*, or “aged,” but must be disposed of with all of the solemnity and grace that one finds in Sikh funerary practices. Although many such ritual disposal practices of the **Guru Granth Sahib** were evident prior to Indian independence, after 1947 the **Shir-omani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC)** entrusted **Goindval Sahib** with the task of cremating aged scriptures. Recently within the Punjab certain Sikh **Sants**, such as Narinder Singh, have attempted to establish sites at which Sikhs can gather to perform just such a **bhog** of the **Adi Granth**. One such place is **Baoli Sahib** gurdwara in Goindval, where Narinder Singh’s

organization, the Prabhū Simraṇ Kendar, has had constructed two cremation chambers (*Aṅgīṭhā Sāhib*) for this purpose. Twice a month at the town of Goindval, tattered copies of the printed scripture are cremated in a beautiful ceremony, after which the resultant ashes are immersed in the Beas River. To bring aged scriptures to Goindval, the Prabhu Simran Kendar sends out a truck throughout the Punjab, and sometimes railway trucks are hired to bring old birs from states as distant as Bengal.

ADI GRANTH CONTENTS. Although it is a substantial collection, comprising 1,430 pages in the standard printed edition, the **Adi Granth** is remarkably consistent in terms of content. The message it communicates is that spiritual liberation comes through belief in the divine **Name** and the regular practice of *nām simaraṇ*.

ADI GRANTH LANGUAGE. The **Adi Granth** has a reputation for wide-ranging linguistic variety. This is not correct. The **Gurus**, like their **Sant** predecessors, used a simplified form of early Hindi known as **Sant Bhasha**, or Sadhukari. This designates a language based on **Khari Boli**, the Hindi of the Delhi region, which was widely used for religious poetry before and during the time of the early Gurus. There are, however, variants in the different Gurus' usage. **Nanak** has a strongly Punjabi version, whereas **Guru Arjan** tends more toward western Hindi. Hymns for particular audiences take account of their particular language (e.g., Persian) without abandoning the Sant Bhasha framework. Because no term expressly denotes the language of the Adi Granth, it is sometimes called the Sacred Language of the **Sikhs** (SLS). It was written in the **Gurmukhi** script.

ADI GRANTH MANUSCRIPT 1245 (ADI GRANTH MS 1245). Considerable interest has been raised by the purchase in 1987 of the manuscript numbered 1245 by **Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar**. Two scholars who made use of it were Piar Singh and **Pashaura Singh**, the first in a published book and the other in his Ph.D. thesis for the University of Toronto. Although their use was responsible, the result was a storm of protest in the **Panth**. The alleged offenders were summoned before **Akal Takhat**, and in 1993 Piar Singh was declared a *tanakhāhīā*, compelled to recant and perform humiliating tasks as penalty. According to Pashaura Singh, an analysis of the contents of the manuscript reveals that it can be placed historically sometime between 1595 and 1604, the years of the present **Goindval** volume one and the **Kartarpur** manuscript, respectively. As such it illuminates the textual process through which the evolution of the **Adi Granth** has taken place. His opponents argue that the manuscript is later than the Kartarpur manuscript and that it has a **Mina** provenance.

See also GOINDVĀL POTHĪS; KARTĀRPUR BĪR.

ADI GRANTH MANUSCRIPT BAHOVAL POTHĪ. A manuscript copy of the **Adi Granth** held at the Bhai Vir Singh Sahitya Sadan in New Delhi. As with **Adi Granth MS 1245**, this text too is a preliminary draft used in constructing the penultimate Kartarpur recension of the scripture. Chronologically, it is placed after MS 1245.

ADI GRANTH MANUSCRIPT BHĀĪ RŪPĀ POTHĪ. A manuscript copy of the **Adi Granth** lodged with the family of **Bhai Rupa** that predates the **Kartarpur Bir** by about a year (1603 C.E.).

ADI GRANTH MANUSCRIPT LAHORI BĪR. A manuscript copy of the **Adi Granth** that was produced probably circa 1610 while **Guru Hargobind** was imprisoned in Gwalior Fort. It differs from the text of the **Kartarpuri Bir**. The Lahori Bir is so named because it was found in a shrine in the city of Lahore. It gave rise to a series of recension now known as Lahori.

ADI GRANTH MANUSCRIPT SURSINGH POTHĪ. A manuscript copy of the Sikh scripture dated to 1603 that may have served as a working draft for the penultimate **Kartarpur Bir**.

ADI GRANTH MANUSCRIPT VAÑJĀRĀ POTHĪ. A manuscript copy of the **Adi Granth** lodged at the **Guru Hargobind** Library, Jawaddi Taksal, Gurdwara Gur Gian Prakash, in Ludhiana, discovered by **Pashaura Singh**. This text, according to Singh, served as a “working draft” from which the scripture of the **Adi Granth** eventually emerged, and may be placed chronologically before the penultimate **Kartarpur Bir** text of 1604 and after both **Adi Granth MS 1245** at Guru Nanak Dev University and the **Bahoval Pothi**.

ADI GRANTH STRUCTURE. The **Adi Granth** is divided into three unequal parts. The introductory section (pp. 1–13) contains liturgical works. It opens with the **Mul Mantra** (the basic credal statement) and then records **Nanak’s Japji**, the **Sodar** collection of nine hymns, and the **Kirtan Sohila** group of five hymns. Then comes a lengthy section devoted to 31 *rāgs*, or musical modes (pp. 14–1353). Finally, there is the short epilogue consisting of miscellaneous works (pp. 1353–1430). The middle section is subdivided according to *rāg*, and then within each *rāg* the text is further subdivided as follows: First, there are brief hymns by the **Gurus**, comprising four verses and a refrain (*chaupad*). Second, there are longer hymns by the **Gurus**, usually eight verses and a refrain (*ashtapadī*). Third, there are long hymns by the

Gurus, usually consisting of four or six long stanzas (*chhant*). Fourth, there are much longer works by the Gurus, such as **Arjan's Sukhmani Sahib**. Fifth, there is the distinctive Adi Granth form of the *vār*. Finally, there is the **Bhagat Bani**, the works of various **Sants** whose compositions were in harmony with the message of liberation through the divine **Name** taught by the Gurus. Within the chaupads, *ashṭapadī*, and chhants, there is a further classification, each one being grouped according to author. First come the chaupads of **Nanak** in a particular *rāg*, then those of **Amar Das**, **Ram Das**, **Arjan**, and finally (if any) those of **Tegh Bahadur**. This is followed by the *ashṭapadīs* in the same order and finally by the chhants. There are no hymns (*shabads*) by **Guru Angad** in the Adi Granth, only couplets or shorter works (*shaloks*) that are mainly included in the *vārs*. This intricate but generally consistent ordering of material is characteristic of other collections of scripture by religious groups in medieval and early modern India.

ADI GRANTH TERMINOLOGY. The compositions in the **Adi Granth** are almost all grouped according to 31 *rāgs*, a musical mode. A hymn in the Adi Granth is termed a *shabad*. According to the teachings of **Nanak**, the *shabad* is the vehicle of divine communication between **God** and man, and the term used for **Word** came to be applied to the composition that gave it expression. A shorter composition (usually a couplet) is called a *shalok*.

ADI GRANTH VERSIONS. The **Kartarpur bir** serves as the master draft of the **Adi Granth**. Prior to its recording, **Guru Arjan** had several drafts prepared, such as **Adi Granth MS 1245**. After the Kartarpur manuscript had been completed, two further versions, the Lahore and the **Adi Granth Banno Recension**, appeared. Finally **Guru Gobind Singh** is said to have added works by his father, **Tegh Bahadur**, in the **Damdama** version, and the canon of the Adi Granth was thereby closed.

ĀDI SĀKHIS. A *janam-sakhi* that in its extant form dates from the late 17th century.

ADINA BEG KHAN (?–1758). In 1739, during the rapid decline of **Mughal** authority in the **Punjab**, Adina Beg was appointed the governor of the Jalandhar Doab by **Zakariya Khan**. Until he died in 1758, he served his own interests, variously supporting or opposing the Mughals, **Ahmad Shah Abdali**, and the **Sikhs**.

ADULTERY. This is strictly forbidden by the **Sikh Gurus**. It is regarded as one of the four **kurahits**.

AGYA KAUR, BIBI (?–1918). Agya Kaur was the wife of the famous Sikh *zinda-shahid* Bhai Takht Singh of Firozpur. Like her husband, she was committed to the cause of female education, helping to establish and run the **Sikh Kanya Mahavidayala**.

AHIMSĀ. Although *ahimsā* is popularly translated into English with the term “nonviolence,” this translation fails to take into account the entire semantic range of the term. It does not simply mean refraining from violence but also underscores an active commitment to protecting and preserving life, in effect, to helping to institute righteousness. This doctrine thus formed a substantial plank in the political ideology of the Indian National **Congress**, and was a doctrine fervently preached by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. *Ahimsā* is indeed upheld by **Sikhs** in normative terms except when justice is threatened: “When all other means fail,” **Guru Gobind Singh** writes in his **Zafar-nama**, “only then is it lawful to draw the sword.” It was particularly displayed and regularly commented upon during the **Gurdwara Reform Movement**. The regular commentary often appeared in the newspapers of Sikh leaders and was buttressed by reference to well-known Sikh histories.

See also THE AKĀLĪ.

AHLUVALIA. A small **Sikh caste**, originally **Kalals**, or brewers of country liquor. The Kalals were very close to being Outcastes in status. It was a small, tightly organized caste, and late in the 19th century its leaders decided to Sanskritize (i.e., adopt professions and a way of life that would result in an ascent in caste terms). They adopted for the caste the name of a famous Kalal, **Jassa Singh Ahluvalia**, and rigorously followed a lifestyle conspicuously higher than was required of a low caste. In adopting the name of a distinguished **misdar**, the Ahluvalias have been much more successful than the **Ramgarhias**, who adopted the name of **Jassa Singh Ramgarhia**. The change was aided by the fact that the ruling family of **Kapurthala** (the descendants of Jassa Singh Ahluvalia) was also Kalal. So successful have they been that today their Kalal antecedents have been largely forgotten, and the Ahluvalias rank with the **Khatris** in caste status. Most Ahluvalias are Sikhs.

AHLUVALIA MISL. A small **misl** with a distinguished founder, **Jassa Singh Ahluvalia**. Its territory was southwest of Jalandhar, with its chief center in **Kapurthala**. Jassa Singh Ahluvalia, though not a **Jat**, was regarded as the principal misl chieftain, and **Ranjit Singh** permitted his successor to retain his estates after the other misls had been extinguished. When the British took over the territory in 1846, it preserved its status as the princely state of Kapurthala.

AHMAD AL-FARUQI SIRHINDI, SHAYKH (1564–1634). Indian Islamic scholar born in the Punjabi town of **Sirhind** who was also a *shaykh*, or master, of the Naqshbandi **Sufi** order. Because of his active role in promoting the Naqshbandi variety of Sufi life (especially through his prolific literary output) and their particular interpretation of Islam and being Muslim, Sirhindi is often credited with attempting to revive Islam during its apparently diminishing period in the later years of the emperor **Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar**. For this reason he is titled *mujaddid-i alf thānī*, or the Renewer of the Second Millennium [of Islam]. Although Sirhindi's career and influence had quite an effect on the development of Sufi epistemology and practices, his reference within the Sikh tradition is a rather controversial one. While some scholars credit him with playing a significant role in having the Fifth Sikh Guru, **Guru Arjan**, executed in 1606, basing their conclusions on the delight that Sirhindi expresses at the execution of Guru Arjan in one of his letters, other historians play down that role considerably, underscoring the fact that the significant portion of the letter referencing Guru Arjan's execution is meant as little more than an afterthought.

AHMAD SHAH ABDALI (1722–1772). Also known as Ahmad Shah Durani, he was the ruler of Afghanistan who invaded the Punjab eight times between 1747 and 1767. Serious damage resulted, but each time he was compelled to withdraw to Kabul. During this period **Sikh** forces grouped as independent **misl**s.

AJIT SINGH (1881–1947). Ajit Singh earned his political spurs during the 1906–1907 **Punjab** agrarian agitations that were elicited by the passing of the Punjab Land Colonization Bill (1906). The resentment that accompanied this passage prompted Ajit Singh to support the establishing of the Bharat Mata Society, headquartered at **Lahore**. Taking up the cause of India's independence from Great Britain, Ajit Singh was arrested and released and left the country to continue his activities elsewhere, in Iran, Turkey, Paris, and other European countries. Ultimately, he returned to India on March 1947, dying just a few months later in August.

AJIT SINGH PALIT (?–1725). Name of the adopted son of **Guru Gobind Singh's** wife, Mata **Sundari**. Named Ajit Singh, as he bore a striking resemblance to the Guru's son, *sāhibzādā* **Ajit Singh**. According to Sikh tradition, after having been granted a robe of honor by the emperor **Bahadur Shah** and thus being incorporated into the pantheon of **Mughal** courtiers, Ajit Singh became somewhat unruly and was ultimately killed in 1725 by the Mughal government of Bahadur Shah's successor, Muhammad Shah.

AJIT SINGH, SAHIBZADA (1687–1705). The eldest son of **Guru Gobind Singh**, born to Mata **Sundari** on 26 January 1687. Shifting along with his family to **Anandpur** a year or so afterward, he was trained according to the princely standards of the day, in various literary, philosophical, and martial traditions. Very soon after the creation of the **Khalsa**, Ajit Singh's opportunity to put his skills to the test arose when he was put in charge of a contingent of **Sikh** cavalry that marched from Anandpur to secure items that had been stolen from the Guru. During the siege of Anandpur in 1705–1706, Ajit Singh was put in charge of the rear guard as Sikhs abandoned the fort. He and a number of Sikhs eventually reached **Chamkaur**, where they were further besieged by Mughal and **Pahari** forces. Leading sallies against their besiegers, Ajit Singh was ultimately cut down.

See also SĀHIB-ZĀDE.

AKĀL BUṄGĀ. *See* AKĀL TAKHAT; BUṄGĀ.

AKĀL PURAKH. The “Timeless One,” **God**. A favorite term for God held by **Nanak** and other **Gurus**. Many other words are used in the attempt to encompass the infinity of God. He/She/It is *nirāṅkāṛ*, the Formless One, the Creator, Sustainer, and Destroyer. He/She/It is *abināsī* (eternal), *anādi* (without beginning), *achal* (ever constant), *nirāñjan* (pure), *agam agochar* (inscrutable), *alakh* (ineffable), yet by his/her/its **grace** he/she/it is immanent to those who will but open their eyes and look around and within themselves. He/She/It is the Supreme Lord of the entire universe, knowable to those who meditate on his/her/its *nām*, which consists of everything that can be comprehended about him.

See also GENDER OF GOD.

AKĀL TAKHAT. Preeminent among the five **takhats** of the **Panth**, Akal Takhat stands immediately facing **Harimandir Sahib** (the **Golden Temple**). Harimandir Sahib is the primary religious center of the **Sikhs**, and Akal Takhat is the primary temporal center where major decisions concerning the affairs of the Panth are made. Strictly speaking, Akal Takhat is housed in *akāl buṅgā*, one of the numerous *buṅgās* that once surrounded Harimandir Sahib. The building stands near the **Darshani Deorhi** at a slight angle to Harimandir Sahib. During the 18th century, the **Sarbat Khalsa** met in front of Akal Takhat, and today any decision of the whole Panth must be announced from it in the form of a **hukam-nama**. It was in Akal Takhat that **Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale** was killed by government of India forces in June 1984.

AKĀL USTATI. “Praise to the Timeless One,” an unfinished poem attributed to **Guru Gobind Singh** and included in the **Dasam Granth**, which is particularly inclusive, following significant themes one discovers within the **Adi Granth**. **God** is addressed as the divine of all, and as **Sarab Loh**, the “All Steel,” described in militant terms as absolutely supreme. The Akal Ustati also gently satirizes those who place their trust in the conventions of religious traditions, emphasizing the point that inner, heartfelt devotion to the one Supreme Lord is what constitutes true praise.

AKĀLĪ. “A follower of the Timeless One [**God**].” Originally, it was applied to irregular **Sikh** soldiers of the 18th and early 19th centuries who fought with reckless bravery on behalf of the **Panth**, acknowledging no leader who was not an Akali (also spelled *Akalee*). During the turbulent middle years of the 18th century, the Akalis generally fought in the **Shahid misl**. In the early 19th century there emerged the most famous of the early Akalis, **Phula Singh**, the ill-disciplined but fearless warrior who, with other Akalis under him, fought for **Ranjit Singh**. Following the death of Phula Singh in 1823, the strength of the Akalis dwindled, and the small remnants that still survive today are known as **Nihangs**. The word has meanwhile assumed a different meaning. In 1920, radical Sikhs aiming at control of the **Sikh gurdwaras** formed the **Akali Dal**, or “Akali army,” an explicitly Sikh political party. Ever since, “Akali” has designated a member of the Akali Dal.

THE AKĀLĪ. A Punjabi newspaper that voiced the particular concerns and interpretations of those Sikh leaders who were heading the **Gurdwara Reform Movement**. First published by Master Sundar Singh of Lyallpur from Lahore in May 1920, the *Akālī* regularly interpreted the present campaign of the newly established **Akali Dal**, and later of the newly formed **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee**, through the lens of a Sikh history that the *Akālī* itself helped polish. The predominant elements of this Sikh history were related to selfless sacrifice, heroism, humility, martyrdom, non-cooperation, and Gandhian *satyāgrah*. The paper continues to this day although even during the Gurdwara Reform Movement it went through a number of mergers and name changes.

AKĀLĪ DAL. During the early years of the 20th century, devout **Sikhs** were concerned that many of their **gurdwaras** were in the possession of men who were not members of the **Khalsa**, nor even **Kes-dhari Sikhs**. Since the turmoil of the 18th century, the gurdwaras had been managed by **mahants** who frequently claimed to be **Udasi Sikhs** but lacked the visible marks of the Khalsa order. Under the British, who took over the administration of the **Punjab** in 1849, ownership of the gurdwaras was conferred on whoever

could claim to be in possession. The **Singh Sabha** movement, from its foundation in 1873, had awakened Sikhs to the unsatisfactory nature of this situation, and, prompted by the growing strength of the **Tat Khalsa**, many expressed misgivings. The British rulers, however, were anxious to uphold the validity of their settlement; **Sanatan Sikhs**, who through the **Chief Khalsa Divan** exercised administrative dominance within the Singh Sabha, were concerned about staying on good terms with them. In late 1920 radical Sikhs, irritated at the loyal obedience of the Chief Khalsa Divan, announced two decisions from **Akal Takhat** reached by the newly formed **Central Sikh League**. The first was the foundation of the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC)**, a group to manage all major Sikh shrines. This was followed by the creation of the Akali Dal (Akali Army), a body based on a military model that would train men to confront the government and occupy gurdwaras. Until the splits of recent years, the Akali Dal was much the largest of the specifically Sikh political parties, and Akalis have been (and still are) a prominent feature of Sikh life.

AKALI DAL HISTORY. The **Akali Dal** was founded in 1920 as an explicitly **Sikh** organization and has remained so ever since. Throughout the **Gurdwara Reform Movement** it operated on military lines with small groups led by **jathedars**. The **Sikh Gurdwaras Act of 1925** signaled victory, and since then the Akali Dal (or **Shiromani Akali Dal**) has functioned as a Sikh political party. Within the **Panth** its power has always been contested by members of the Indian National **Congress**. Its authority has remained unchallenged inside the highly influential **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee**, which has an exclusively Sikh electorate. Here, however, it has been plagued by rifts. In state politics (where voting is shared with **Hindus**) it has been less successful. In national politics its influence has been negligible except when it stood against Prime Minister **Indira Gandhi** during the Emergency of 1975–1977. For much of its career the Akali Dal was dominated by **Tara Singh**. In 1961, following an abortive fast, he was challenged for the leadership by **Fateh Singh** and the party split. It has remained split ever since, the dominant faction for many years associated with Fateh Singh, **Parkash Singh Badal**, and **Harchand Singh Longowal**. Since the 1984 assault by Indian government troops on the **Golden Temple**, it has, however, divided into several factions, with no one faction able to claim controlling dominance. The Akali color is dark blue, and male Akalis often wear turbans of this color.

See also POLITICAL PARTIES, PREPARTITION; POLITICAL PARTIES, POSTPARTITION; POLITICS.

AKBAR, EMPEROR MUHAMMAD JALLALUDDIN (1542–1605). The first Mughal emperor born within India, Akbar has had a very special niche carved within Sikh history. Sikh tradition remembers him for his fondness of the Third Sikh Master, **Guru Amar Das**, at whose *laṅgar* the emperor apparently ate; his donation of land (around which the city of **Amritsar** would later be built) to the Third Guru's daughter and the wife of **Guru Ram Das**, **Bibi Bhani**; and for his meeting with **Guru Arjan** at **Goindval Sahib** in 1598, an encounter that was recorded by **Abul Fazl Allami** in the latter's chronicle, the *Akbar-nāmah*.

See also MUGHAL RELATIONS.

AKHAṆḌ KIRTANĪ JATHĀ. Known previously as the **Bhāi Randhīr Singh kā Jathā** ("the followers of Bhai **Randhir Singh**"), Akhand Kirtani Jatha is the name that has become increasingly popular. Adherents form a group of **Sikhs** with members laying paramount emphasis on the sacred text of scripture. Great importance is attached to *kīrtan*, and congregations frequently devote the whole night to it. They also attach particular significance to the word *Vahigurū*, which they regard as the **Guru's** mantra. The implanting of the **gur-mantra** on the breath by the **Panj Piare** during *amrit sanskāṛ* produces, so they believe, the practice of continually repeating the **gur-mantra** during both private and congregational *nām simraṇ*. Vegetarianism is strictly observed, and in place of the **kes** in the **Five Ks**, they substitute the *keskī*, which women wear as well as men. The **Dasam Granth** is regarded as sacred and **Rag-mala** is not accepted. References to caste differences are strictly forbidden. Although Randhir Singh was himself a **Jat**, the leadership of the sect is now in the hands of **Khatris** and **Aroras**. Ludhiana is the center of the organization. The Akhand Kirtani Jatha came to prominence in April 1978 when several members were killed during a confrontation with the **Sant Nirankaris** in **Amritsar**. For some years after, a group of members of the **Jatha** lived near the **Akal Takhat** and organized *kīrtan* in **Harimandir Sahib**. At that time Amarjit Kaur was leader of the group. She was close to **Harchand Singh Longowal** and opposed to **Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale**.

See also ORTHODOXY; RĀG-MĀLĀ; RAHIT BIBEK.

AKHAṆḌ PĀṬH. An "unbroken reading" of the **Guru Granth Sahib**. This is performed by a relay of readers who, reading in turn without intermission, complete the task in approximately 48 hours. It is held on all occasions of importance to **Sikhs**, such as a marriage, the opening of a new business, or a funeral. Each reader should bathe and wear clean clothes before beginning his turn. *Karah prasād* should be brought into the presence of the **Guru Granth Sahib** before beginning an *akhaṇḌ pāṭh*; the six appointed stanzas of

Anand Sahib should be read, **Ardas** should be recited, and a **hukam** should be taken. The reading concludes with a **bhog** ceremony. Much the same procedure is followed with a *sadhāran pāṭh* or a *saptāhak pāṭh*. The practice of holding Akhand Paths appears to have developed during the late 18th or early 19th centuries. A practice rarely undertaken is that of the *atī akhaṇḍ pāṭh*, which involves only one person. The task, which takes about 27 hours, can be performed only by a person of uncommon stamina and reading skill.

See also SAMPAṬ PĀṬH.

AKHĀRĀ. “Wrestling arena.” A center of either the **Udasis** or **Nirmalas**. The number of Udasi akharas was estimated at more than 250 in the mid-19th century, some located in places well beyond the **Punjab**. There were fewer belonging to the Nirmalas, but their influence was equal to the Udasis.

See also BAKHSHĪSH; DHŪĀN; PAHLĀVĀNĪ.

AKHBĀR-I-DARBĀR-MU‘ALLĀ. “News of the Imperial Court.” These accounts were comprised of court bulletins, which included a great variety of reports. In regard to their Sikh content, the *Akhabār* noted a number of the infamous events connected with **Banda** and his Sikhs and imperial attempts to suppress them, as well as incidents regarding the life of **Ajit Singh Palit**.

AKIL DAS. One of the 18th-century heads of the **Handali** sect who was also known as Haribhagat Niranjania. According to Sikh tradition, he was a treacherous enemy of the Sikh Panth and played a principal role in the capture and execution of such stalwart Sikhs as Bhai **Taru Singh** and Bhai **Mahtab Singh**.

ALĀHANĪĀN. A composition by **Guru Nanak** that occurs in *rāgā vaḍahans* in the **Adi Granth** that follows the style of traditional Punjabi mourning songs. Five of his hymns in *rāg vaḍahans* (Adi Granth 578–582) are titled *alāhanīā* (singular: *alāhanī*) in which the sovereignty of the Lord’s will is underlined. The implication in these is that death is not something to be mourned but accepted as the will of God.

‘**ALAMGIR.** *See* AURANGZEB, MUHIUDDIN MUHAMMAD ‘ALAMGIR (1618–1707).

ALAM SINGH “NACHNĀ” (?–1705). A Sikh warrior in the entourage of the Tenth Sikh Guru who had earned the affectionate nickname of *nachnā* or “dancer” because of his extraordinary athletic agility. Sikh tradition notes that he had once killed a tiger single-handedly. One also hears of Alam Singh

within the **Bachitar Natak**, as the Guru's watchman who sounded the alarm when the son of Dilawar Khan (the Khanzada noted in the text) attempted to storm **Anandpur** unawares. He died during the **Battle of Chamkaur**.

ALA SINGH, BABA (1691–1765). The **Sikh misl** leader who became the first ruler of **Patiala**, the grandson of Baba **Phul** from whom the **Phulkian** states claim descent. Ala Singh's career of conquest began after the execution of **Banda** in 1716. During the invasions of **Ahmad Shah Abdali**, Ala Singh had sided with the **Mughals**, cutting off the Afghan shah's supplies and capturing his animals. By the 1760s Ala Singh possessed a large number of villages, and in 1761 he had helped shuttle provisions into the blockaded **Maratha** camp. He died in August 1765.

ALCOHOL. This is an ongoing issue within the **Panth**. Consumption of alcohol and drugs is prohibited by **Sikh Rahit Marayada**, yet a substantial number of **Sikhs** (particularly in rural areas) partake of alcohol, frequently of a singularly fiery kind. Voting for the elections of the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee** also requires the voter to certify that he or she does not consume alcohol, yet a large majority of the male voters are not abstainers. Passages from the **Adi Granth** can be interpreted in support of either side, though the **Gurus** were clearly against the use of either alcohol or drugs. The controversy continues.

See also VEGETARIANISM.

ALIM. A Muslim poet who eventually joined the poetic **darbar** of **Guru Gobind Singh**. A poet who was previously within the entourage of Aurangzeb's eldest son, Mu'azzam (later **Bahadur Shah**), it is likely that Alim made his way to the **Anandpur Darbar** during the prince's incarceration between 1687 and 1695.

ALLARD, JEAN FRANÇOIS (1785–1839). Allard, a former officer of Napoleon Bonaparte, was employed by **Ranjit Singh** and, with other Europeans, developed the **Punjab** army into a formidable fighting force on the Western model. Sikh military uniforms, as well as the **darbar's** medals for gallantry and courage (such as the Bright Star of Punjab, for example), were probably patterned along lines suggested by Allard.

ALL-INDIA SIKH STUDENTS' FEDERATION (AISSF). Although the AISSF was founded almost 60 years ago, it was not prominent until the mid-1970s, when it adopted an anticommunist stance. In the early 1980s, under its president Amrik Singh, it became a dedicated supporter of the militant **Jar-**

nail Singh Bhindranvale, strongly critical of the moderate political policies of **Harchand Singh Longowal**. Amrik Singh was killed with Bhindranvale when the Indian army attacked the **Golden Temple** complex in June 1984.

ALMAST (1553–1643). An **Udasi** and a disciple of **Gurditta**, he established a shrine dedicated to **Nanak** at Nanakmata (near Pilibhit in the Kumaon Hills). By tradition, Nanak had visited the place and made sweet the bitter fruit of a soap-nut tree. **Hargobind** included Nanakmata on one of his tours.

AMAR DAS, GURU (1479–1574). Third **Guru**, born in **Basarke**, the son of Tej Bhan Bhalla. According to tradition, he was a pious Vaishnava who was prompted to search for a guru by another devotee. On his way to the Ganga, he happened to overhear the daughter of **Guru Angad**, who had married his brother's son, singing one of the hymns of **Nanak**. So captivated by it was he that he insisted on being taken to **Khadur** to pay his respects to Nanak's successor, Angad. There he became a **Sikh**. Amar Das greatly impressed Guru Angad by his devotion, and although well advanced in years, he was appointed to succeed him as Third Guru of the **Panth**. When he became Guru in 1552, he was already 73, remaining in the position until he died at the age of 95. While Angad was still alive, Amar Das was sent to the neighboring village of **Goindval**, and when he succeeded as Guru this became the new center of the Panth. He continued the tradition of married Gurus, his wife being **Mansa Devi**, and his family numbering two sons and either one or two daughters.

AMAR DAS'S POLICY. Amar Das assumed responsibility for the **Panth** in 1552, at a time when it was settling down after the first flush of its early years. It was spreading geographically, and to preach the faith still further pious followers were appointed, each as a *mañjī*. The anticaste *laṅgar* was apparently inaugurated in his time; at least three rituals were introduced for the **Sikhs**. A sacred well (*bāoli*) was dug as a pilgrimage center in **Goindval**, two festival days were designated, and a sacred scripture was recorded in four volumes (the so-called **Goindval Pothis** or **Mohan Pothis**). In instituting these changes, Amar Das seemed to be directing his Sikhs back to the external customs that they had renounced under **Nanak**. The *bāoli*, with its 84 steps corresponding to the 84 lakhs of existences in the transmigratory cycle, was to be a visible *tīrath*, or center of pilgrimage, and the festivals were those celebrated by Hindus. They were, however, changes with a specifically Sikh content. The *tīrath* was in Goindval, and the festivals were celebrated by Sikhs. Under Nanak the Panth consisted of first-generation

Sikhs who had been attracted to him by his teachings. Now there was an increasing number of Sikhs who had been born into the faith, and for them the Panth needed exterior rituals and practices.

See also MOHAN (trad. 1536–?).

AMARINDER SINGH, CAPTAIN (1942–). The son of the former maharaja of **Patiala**, Captain Amarinder Singh of the Indian National Congress served as chief minister of the Punjab from 2002 to 2007.

AMAR-NĀMAH. A Persian work of 146 couplets, or *baits*, composed apparently in 1708 by one Bhai **Natth** Mal, a **dhadhi** from the time of **Guru Hargobind**. Although the Persian in the text is pedestrian, it does narrate some interesting events, such as those describing the meeting of **Guru Gobind Singh** and **Banda**, and **Bhai Nand Lal**'s appearance within **Bahadur Shah**'s camp.

AMARNATH, DIVAN (1822–1867). The paymaster (*bakhsī*) of the irregular **Sikh** forces who was also a Persian chronicler of **Maharaja Ranjit Singh**. Amarnath was responsible for writing the valuable *Zafar-nāmah-i Ranjīt Singh*, a Persian chronicle of the maharaja's reign up to 1836.

AMARO. The daughter of **Guru Angad**, whose singing of a hymn by **Guru Nanak** was overheard by **Guru Amar Das** and led him to become a **Sikh**. She was married to a nephew of Amar Das and resided in **Basarke**.

AMĀVAS. The night of the new moon, the last night of the “dark” fortnight when the moon is waning (*badī*), followed by a “light” fortnight when the moon is waxing (*sudī*). The occasion, also called *massiā*, is an important festival for the **Panth**.

See also PANCHAMĪ; PŪRAN-MĀSHĪ; SAN GRAND.

AMBALA. A city in the state of Haryana today that was a general halting place of the **Mughal** emperor and his cortege as they made their way from **Delhi** to **Lahore**. It has as well been the scene of many a visit by the **Sikh Gurus** as attested by the number of **gurdwaras** sacred to the memories of **Guru Hargobind**, **Guru Tegh Bahadur**, and **Guru Gobind Singh**.

AMĪRULIMLĀ. A collection of letters (also known as the *Muntakhabulhaqā'iq*) in **Shahmukhi** script written by **Sikh** chiefs of the **Punjab** and addressed to one another. It was compiled by Amir Chand in 1794–1795 and includes a number of letters written by **Maharaja Ranjit**

Singh. These letters cover a vast range of subjects although the predominant theme in those written by the lesser chiefs is their insecurity in the light of the expansionist aims of **Ranjit Singh**.

AMRIT. “Deathless.” [The water of] eternal life; the nectar of immortality.

AMRITA PRITAM (1919–2005). Perhaps the most famous female poet of modern Punjabi. Her most famous poem, loved by both Indian and Pakistani Punjabis is *Ajj Ākhān Wāris Shāh Nūn, Today I Invoke Waris Shah* . . .

AMRITA SHER-GILL (1913–1941). Born to a Sikh father, Umrao Singh Sher-Gill, and a Hungarian mother, Marie Antoinette, Sher-Gill became one of the premiere **Sikh** artists of the 20th century, synthesizing in her work **art** that was considered Western and Eastern.

AMRIT-DHĀRĪ. A **Sikh** who has “taken **amrit** (nectar),” namely, been initiated into the **Khalsa**. This is done by the ceremony of *amrit sanskār*. There is no way of accurately estimating the proportion of Sikhs who are Amrit-dhari, though 15 percent is sometimes hesitantly mentioned. Strictly speaking, only the Amrit-dhari Sikhs constitute the Khalsa, though in practice **Kes-dhari Sikhs** are usually included also.

See also IDENTITY.

AMRIT RAI. The son of a Lahori *bhatt*, or bard, Amrit Rai eventually found a sure patron at the court of **Guru Gobind Singh** in **Anandpur**. His most famous work while at the Guru’s darbar is a *parva*, or part, of the **Brajbhasha** interpretation of the Mahabharata.

See also LITERATURE.

AMRIT SANSKĀR. The order for **Khalsa** initiation is detailed in **Sikh Rahit Marayada**, the contemporary **rahit-nama**. It is also called *amrit chhakṇā*. An open copy of the **Guru Granth Sahib** is required at the place of initiation together with six initiated **Sikhs**, each bearing the five Khalsa symbols (the **Five Ks**). One sits with the scripture, while the ceremony is conducted by the other five. Either men or **women** can officiate, though normally the participants are men. Those who administer initiation should be physically sound. Anyone who is old enough to understand the ceremony, who affirms belief in the Sikh faith, and who vows to live according to Khalsa principles can take initiation.

See also AMRIT SANSKĀR PROCEDURE; KHANḌE DĪ PĀHUL; NAMING CEREMONY.

AMRIT SANSKĀR PROCEDURE. Candidates for **Khalsa** initiation, having bathed and washed their hair, present themselves for the rite wearing the **Five Ks**. After the initiates have confessed their faith and a **hukam** has been read, the five officiants take their places beside the large iron bowl that is used for the initiation. Fresh water is poured into it and soluble sweets added. Having done this, the officiants adopt the “heroic posture” (*bīr āsan*) in which the right knee is placed on the ground and the left knee is held upright. One of the officiants then recites five passages from scripture (**Japji**, **Jap**, the **Ten Savayya**s, a portion of **Benati Chaupai**, and six stanzas from the **Anand**), all the time stirring the water with a two-edged sword. This is done with the right hand, the left hand resting on the bowl. The other four keep both hands on the bowl, with their eyes fixed on the water. The recitation completed, all five stand up holding the bowl and one of them recites **Ardas**. The initiates then adopt the “heroic posture,” and each cups his or her hands with the right hand over the left. Five times the sanctified water (**amrit**) is poured into the cupped hands. As each portion is drunk, the officiant who gives it cries, “*Vāhigurū jī kā Khālsā, Vāhigurū jī kī fateh*,” and after drinking it the recipient repeats the cry. The water is then sprinkled five times onto the initiate’s eyes and five times over the hair. The remainder of the water is then drunk in turn by the initiates. Next the initiates are required to repeat the **Mul Mantra** five times in unison, and the **Rahit** is expounded to them by one of the officiants. This requires them to wear the Five Ks, and they are commanded ever after to avoid the four **kurahits**. Certain people and practices are to be avoided, such as eating from the same dish as a **patit**, or a person who has not received Khalsa initiation. **Ardas** is recited again, a **hukam** is taken, and if the initiate has not received a name from the **Guru Granth Sahib**, one should be conferred in the approved manner, each male adding **Singh** to his name and each female adding **Kaur** to hers. Finally *karah prasād* should be distributed, all taking it from the same iron dish.

AMRIT SANSKĀR (UNORTHODOX FORMS). The orthodox form of **Khalsa** initiation is set out above. Certain groups or sects follow forms different in detail. For example, the **Damdami Taksal** and the **Sikh Dharma** movement insist on reciting the whole of **Benati Chaupai** and **Anand** instead of the portions specified in **Sikh Rahit Marayada**. The **Damdami Taksal** also observes a different form of *bīr āsan*, laying the left knee on the ground with the right knee upright. A distinctive practice of the **Akhand Kirtani Jatha** involves the laying of hands on the initiate’s head in order to transfer the spiritual power of the divine **Name** (the *nām*). The form of the **Rahit** that they communicate requires total vegetarianism and amends the **Five Ks**, insisting on *keskī* instead of *kes*. The order followed by **Nihang Sikhs** is also different in detail.

AMRITSAR. Founded by **Guru Ram Das** on instructions from **Guru Amar Das** in the late 16th century, the settlement was first known as Guru ka Chak, or as Ramdaspur. Amritsar (“the waters of eternal life”) was the name of the pool dug by Ram Das that surrounds **Harimandir Sahib**. **Guru Arjan** completed both Harimandir Sahib and the town, making the latter his center. His successor, **Hargobind**, was forced to leave the plains, and for much of the following century Amritsar was in the hands of the **Minas**. In the 18th century it eventually recovered its preeminence as the **Sikhs** battled for its possession, first with the **Mughals** and then with Afghans; it was finally secured late in the century. Although **Ranjit Singh** used neighboring **Lahore** as his capital, Amritsar was regarded as first among the religious centers of the Sikhs. It still retains that status, with central positions occupied by **Harimandir Sahib** (the **Golden Temple**) and **Akal Takhat** and secondary ones by **Khalsa College** and **Guru Nanak Dev University**.

See also AKBAR, EMPEROR MUHAMMAD JALLALUDDIN (1542–1605).

AMRIT VELĀ. The last watch of the night (the period between 3:00 and 6:00 A.M.), which because of its stillness is particularly suitable for meditation. In a greatly loved passage from **Japji 4** (**Adi Granth**, p. 2) **Nanak** says, “In amrit vela meditate on the grandeur of the one true **Name**.” **Sikh Rahit Marayada** states that **Sikhs** are expected to arise in the amrit vela and, after bathing, to meditate on the divine Name.

ANAHAD SHABAD. The mystical “sound” or “unstruck music” that is “heard” at the climax of **hatha yoga**. The term is also used by the **Gurus** to communicate the sense of the inexpressible condition of *sahaj*. It appears that *shabad* passed into **Sant** practice from its usage in **Nath** sources and thence into its widespread **Sikh** currency.

See also DASAM DUĀR; KUNDALĪNĪ.

ANAND GHAN. An **Udasi** scholar of the late 18th and early 19th centuries who, living in Banaras, wrote commentaries on the **Adi Granth** strongly influenced by Brahmanical thought. **Santokh Singh** worked under him for a time.

ANAND KĀRAJ. The **Sikh** marriage ceremony. Anand Karaj was not performed until the middle of the 19th century, although it is certain that at least the **Anand Sahib** portion was well established for a long time prior to that. The marriage ceremony was, however, essentially a Hindu one performed around a sacred fire. The **Nirankari** sect claims that it devised or recovered Anand Karaj earlier in the 19th century and that its example was copied by

the **Singh Sabha** for the wider **Panth**. According to certain Sikh traditions, the origins of the Anand Karaj ceremony stretch back to the time of the early Gurus, specifically to **Guru Amar Das**, author of a portion of the *lāvān* hymns, and only lapsed during the latter part of the 18th century. To support such claims, references to Anand marriage are often excavated from 18th-century **Rahit** texts such as the **rahit-nama** of Bhai **Daya Singh**.

The introduction of Anand Karaj as the only approved order for Sikh marriage was thus a major concern of the Singh Sabha, an emphatic demonstration that Sikhs were not **Hindus**. Eventually the **Anand Marriage Act**, which laid down a specific order for Sikhs, was passed in 1909. According to this order, the couple being wed sit before the **Guru Granth Sahib** and are instructed by an officiant concerning the duties of marriage. The hem of a scarf or other garment worn by the groom is then placed in the bride's hand, and she follows the groom around the sacred scripture in a clockwise direction four times (*lāvān*). Before they make each round a verse of **Guru Ram Das's** *Sūhī Chhant* 2 is sung by the scriptural reader, or *rāgī*, and the verse is repeated by the congregation while the couple make the round. Six stanzas of Anand Sahib are then sung, and the ceremony concludes with **Ardas** and the distribution of *karah prasād*.

See also ANAND MARRIAGE ACT.

ANAND MARRIAGE ACT. Passed by the Imperial Legislative Council in 1909 in order to validate **Anand Karaj**. The act was earlier a bill, produced in large part by the **Chief Khalsa Divan**, introduced by Ripudman Singh of the princely state of **Nabha**.

ANANDPUR. Anandpur (or Anandpur Sahib) is situated on the edge of the **Shivalik Hills**, near the Satluj River. **Guru Tegh Bahadur** moved his center from **Kiratpur** to neighboring Makhoval, which he had initially named Chakk Nanaki after his mother. He had the village subsequently rebuilt, and after his execution in 1675, it was renamed Anandpur (now a town) under the leadership of his only son, **Gobind Singh**. The presence of the Guru inevitably saw the rise of Anandpur as a center of commerce and production thanks to the large number of Sikhs who chose to make the town their home. And it was the increase in numbers, likely a dramatic one, which may have engendered the suspicions of the neighboring princely **Pahari rajas**. Such also caused the emperor **Aurangzeb** concern, as in 1693 the **Mughal** ruler issued an order that people were to be prevented from gathering in large numbers at Anandpur during the festival of **Baisakhi**.

Guru Gobind Singh spent the lion's share of his time as Guru in Anandpur, a fact that caused Anandpur to see some of the most momentous points in the history of the Sikhs, including the birth of a number of the Guru's sons, the

construction of the famous five forts of Anandpur (Anandgarh, Lohgarh, Fatehgarh, Holgarh, and Kesgarh—the last of which today is one of the five **takhats**), and the inauguration of the **Khalsa** in 1699. As the prosperity of Anandpur increased, along with the reputation of the Guru and his Khalsa, the Pahari rajas managed to bury their differences and planned to remove the Guru and his Sikhs from the Pahari region altogether. To this end they secured the help of Mughal forces and laid siege to the fort of Kesgarh. After a prolonged blockade, they and the Mughals broke the oath they had sworn to the Guru to allow the Sikhs to leave the town unharmed, a perfidious act that prompted the Tenth Guru to write the **Zafar-nama** and dispatch it to the emperor **Aurangzeb**.

The subsequent desecration of Anandpur by Pahari forces began a period in the history of Anandpur that is as yet little known. Tradition claims that the Tenth Guru left behind an **Udasi** custodian of the town to care for the needs of the few remaining Sikhs.

ANANDPUR SAHIB RESOLUTION. A charter of demands that was proposed by the **Akali Dal** in 1973 and confirmed in 1978. This lodged both economic demands (notably fair distribution of canal waters from Punjab rivers) and also religious ones, such as sanctioning the relay of **kīrtan** by radio from the **Golden Temple**. **Chandigarh** was to be the capital solely of the **Punjab**, and Punjabi-speaking areas not incorporated in the state should be brought within it. The sale of tobacco and alcohol around the Golden Temple should be ended. There are actually three different versions of the resolution, and as it was originally written in English, translation into Punjabi created further problems. The author of much or all of it is reputed to have been **Kapur Singh**. It acquired importance in the Sikhs' dispute with the central government in the 1980s. One interpretation holds that it demands an independent state of **Khalistan**.

ANAND SĀHIB. The “revered [song of] joy” (**Adi Granth**, pp. 917–922), which is composed of 40 stanzas set in *ramkālī rāg*. A portion of **Guru Amar Das**'s Anand Sahib commands a particular prominence in **Sikh** ritual and liturgy. The section comprising the first five stanzas and the last is sung or chanted as a part of the evening order of **Raharas**, before commencing a reading of the complete **Adi Granth** and again at the close (both *sadhāran pāṭh* and *akhaṇḍ pāṭh*), prior to the distribution of *karah prasād*, at the conclusion of orders of service for child naming and marriage, during the brief postcremation ritual, and as part of the **Khalsa** initiation ceremony.

ANDREWS, CHARLES FREER (1871–1940). Born in England, Andrews moved to India after his education, eventually ending up at Rabindranath Tagore’s famous institute at Shantiniketan. Here he became privy to India’s national aspirations and likely became familiar with the Sikhs and their tradition. In 1919 Andrews made his way to the Punjab and began to closely follow the Sikh struggle for gurdwara liberation, the **Gurdwara Reform Movement**. It was while pursuing this interest that Andrews wrote his famous article in the *Tribune* (of India) describing his experience at the Guru ka Bagh *morchā* during which Sikh sevadars would submit themselves to the painful blows of the police in order to secure their righteous goal of freeing the gurdwaras from corrupt management.

ANGAD, GURU (1504–1552). Second **Guru**. Born as **Lahina**, probably in the village of **Harike** in central **Punjab**, he was the son of **Pheru Mall** and married **Khivi**, the daughter of a **Khatri** of **Khadur**, and had three children. Lahina was the religious teacher of Khadur, a follower of the goddess **Durga**. While leading a village group on pilgrimage to Jvalamukhi, he encountered **Guru Nanak** in **Kartarpur** and was converted to the **Sikh** way. Prior to Nanak’s death in 1539, he was chosen to succeed him, preferred over both of Nanak’s sons, and was renamed Angad (*aṅg* means “limb”) to indicate his closeness to the First Guru. Angad appears in the **janam-sakhis**, always noted for his unquestioning obedience to his master, the First Guru. His few works recorded in the **Adi Granth** testify to his reputation for austerity and loyal obedience. All of his works are *shaloks*, there being no *shabads* among them. Before his death Angad chose **Amar Das** as his successor, also noted for his implicit obedience to the Guru’s will.

In many ways Guru Angad continued the ideology established by his predecessor and even certain stories associated with him seem to be reminiscent of those in which we find Guru Nanak. Guru Angad’s contact with the Mughal emperor Humayun, for example, follows a trajectory not unlike that which we discover in the apparent encounter between Guru Nanak and **Babur**, and subsequently, Guru Amar Das and **Akbar**.

ANGLO-SIKH WARS. See ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB.

ANI RAI (1618–?). A son of **Guru Hargobind**.

AÑJULĪĀÑ. “Bringing the palms together.” A short composition by **Guru Arjan** (**Adi Granth**, p. 1019) in *rāg mārū* in which the Fifth Guru lovingly asks the divine to grant him the gift of *nām*. It is also the title of another hymn in *mārū* that underscores the belief that all people should willingly submit to the will of **God**.

ANJUMĀN-I-PAÑJĀB. Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Founded in 1865 by **G. W. Leitner**, principal of Government College in **Lahore**, the society began a free public library in Lahore and vigorously encouraged education in the **Punjab**. Among those influenced by it in the second half of the 19th century were **Khem Singh Bedi**, **Attar Singh of Bhadaur**, and **Gurmukh Singh**.

ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB. War between the British and the **Punjab** broke out in 1845, six years after the death of Maharaja **Ranjit Singh**. During these years the **Lahore** court was in increasingly serious disorder. The first Anglo-Sikh war (1845–1846) was fought because the British, fearing a disturbed Punjab on their border, reached a secret agreement with the authorities in Lahore. Because the army was beyond control, British assistance was needed to restore order. After stiff resistance from the troops and treachery on the part of their commanders, the Punjabi army succumbed. The British annexed the **Jalandhar Doab**, **Gulab Singh** was permitted to purchase Jammu and Kashmir, and the Punjabi army was reduced in strength. A British force was stationed in Lahore and the child **Dalip Singh** remained on the throne. **Dalhousie**, the governor-general of India, then watched and encouraged the continuing crisis in the Punjab. An incident in **Multan** led to the second war (1848–1849). This too was vigorously fought (including the British defeat at **Chillianwala**), but finally the **Sikh** forces were overcome. The remainder of the Punjab was annexed to British India on March 29, 1849.

See also GUJRAT; MUL RAJ (1814–1851).

ANTIM SANSKĀR. *See* FUNERAL.

ANUP KAUR. A woman of **Lahore** (also called Rup Kaur) who unsuccessfully tried to seduce **Guru Gobind Singh** as implied in charitrs 21–23 of the **Pakhyān Charitr**. The **Tria Charitra**, or tales of the wiles of women, the lengthiest portion of the **Pakhyān Charitr** included in the **Dasam Granth**, are sometimes said to be the **Guru**'s warning against such temptations.

APARĀJIT. "Undefeated." Sometimes used as a description or nickname of **Guru Gobind Singh**.

APOCRYPHAL COMPOSITIONS. *See* KACHCHĪ BĀNĪ; PRĀṆ SAṄGALĪ.

APOSTASY. *See* PATIT.

ARATĪ. A Hindu ceremony of adoration that consists of waving round the head of an idol a platter containing five burning wicks. **Nanak** reinterpreted this in the hymn *Dhanāsarī* 3 (**Adi Granth**, pp. 13, 663), declaring that the whole universe was the scene for the proper performance of Arati. The hymn is part of **Kirtan Sohila** and is also sung at **Sikh funerals**.

ARCHITECTURE. A distinctively Sikh architecture, which evolved during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, is exemplified by **gurdwaras**. **Harimandir Sahib** (the **Golden Temple**) in **Amritsar** is the primary example, having been finally rebuilt in the time of **Ranjit Singh**. The **gurdwara** is late **Mughal**, an origin at once evident in its domed pavilion and in the *chattrī* (a structure resembling a minaret) at each of the four corners. It differs from a mosque, however, having doors on all four sides and no *miharāb*. Normally the dominant color of a gurdwara exterior is white, but in the case of Harimandir Sahib the upper two stories were gilded by Ranjit Singh, who was also responsible for much of the inlaid marble. Although most gurdwaras were built in the 20th century, they continued to replicate the basic elements of style present in Harimandir Sahib.

ARDĀS. A formal prayer recited at the conclusion of most **Sikh** rituals. Although it is called the Sikh Prayer, the title is perhaps misleading as the content is strongly **Khalsa** rather than that of the wider **Panth**. When any ritual draws to its close, a portion of **Anand Sahib** is read. Ardas is then recited by a leader, with the congregation joining in at set points. A hymn from the **Adi Granth** is read, and the service concludes with the distribution of **karah prasad**. Ardas is the Punjabi form of the Persian ‘*arz-dasht*, “a written petition.” Used in its ordinary sense, it meant a deferential request. In Sikh tradition it is commonly used to express the act of laying a petition before the **Guru**, and the Gurus themselves used it as a form of address to **Akal Purakh**. At some stage during the 18th century, however, *ardas* assumed a more specific meaning in Sikh usage. There developed the convention of prefacing requests for divine assistance with the invocation to **Chandī ki Var** recorded in the **Dasam Granth**, an invocation that calls to mind the **grace** and virtues of the first nine Gurus. To this was added a similar reference to the Tenth Guru, **Guru Gobind Singh**, and the supplemented invocation came to be known as Ardas in a particular sense.

See also ARDĀS, CONTENTS.

ARDĀS, CONTENTS. In the modern version of **Ardas** the invocation from **Chandī ki Var** remains mandatory and, together with the two concluding lines of Ardas, it is the only portion that is unalterable. A lengthy sequel then follows this standard invocation. There exists a generally agreed text for this

sequel, most of it comprising a review of the past trials and triumphs of the **Khalsa**, uttered in clusters by the leader. Each cluster concludes with the congregation responding in unison with a fervent *Vāhigurū*. The text of this second section was largely composed early in the 20th century by scholars of the **Tat Khalsa** and is printed in **Sikh Rahit Marayada**. Variant versions are used, however. A third section may follow in which personal or community intercessions are offered. These are usually brief and follow no set text. The prayer concludes with the mandatory two-line exhortation and the **Khalsa salutation**.

ARJAN, GURU (1563–1606). The **Fifth Guru**, the youngest of the three sons of **Guru Ram Das**. In 1581 he succeeded his father as **Guru**, the two older brothers having been passed over. The decision of Guru Ram Das to select **Arjan** as his successor was not welcomed by his eldest son, **Prithi Chand**, who made at least one unsuccessful attempt to poison Arjan's only son, **Hargobind**. Prithi Chand managed to secure recognition among a portion of the **Sikhs**, branded by the followers of Arjan as **Minas**, or “scoundrels.” According to tradition, Prithi Chand's followers were circulating spurious hymns, and this convinced Arjan that a definitive scripture was needed. Whatever the reason, a volume (subsequently finalized as the **Adi Granth**) was prepared in 1603–1604, with Bhai **Gurdas** serving as the Guru's amanuensis. A substantial basis for the new scripture was provided by the **Goindval Pothis**, which had been compiled under instructions from the Third Guru, **Amar Das**, and to this Arjan added the works of his father and his own extensive range of compositions. His wife was **Ganga**, and Hargobind was their only child. When he died in 1606, Hargobind succeeded him as Guru.

ARJAN'S DEATH. During the period of **Guru Arjan** and his predecessors, the **Sikh Panth** steadily extended its popularity in the **Punjab**, notably among the rural population and in particular with those who were **Jat** by caste. It was still, however, an exclusively religious Panth, preaching liberation through remembrance of the divine **Name**. In some ways Arjan's death in 1606 marks the bridge between an exclusively religious Panth and one with political and military features. The **Mughal** rulers of the Punjab were evidently concerned with the growth of the Panth, and in 1605 the Emperor **Jahangir** made an entry in his memoirs, the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (also known as the *Jahāngīr-nāmah*), concerning Guru Arjan's support for his rebellious son **Khusrau**. Too many people, he wrote, were being persuaded by his teachings, and if the Guru would not become a Muslim, the Panth had to be extinguished. Mughal authorities seem plainly to have been responsible for Arjan's death in custody in **Lahore**, and this may be accepted as an established fact. Whether his death was by execution, the result of torture, or

drowning in the Ravi River remains unresolved. For Sikhs, Arjan is the first martyr **Guru**. Tradition adds that prior to his death he gave instructions to his son and successor, **Hargobind**, that after his death the Guru should bear arms, the Panth should also be armed, and tyranny should be resisted.

See also AHMAD AL-FARUQI SIRHINDI, SHAYKH (1564–1634); JAHANGIR, NURUDDIN MUHAMMAD (1569–1627).

ARJAN SINGH (1875–1946). A descendant of the famous Bhai Rup Chand, a Sikh of Guru Hargobind, Bhai Arjan Singh was the first president of the **Chief Khalsa Divan (CKD)**, assuming his chair on the Divan's founding in October 1902. He served for over 15 years. Associated as he was with the CKD, an organization which by the standards of the day was considered conservative, Arjan Singh was more friendly with the British government in India than many of the more radical Sikhs who served in the successors of the CKD, the **Central Sikh League** and the **Akali Dal**. In 1916 he received the title "Sardar Bahadar," and in June 1919 the Order of the British Empire was given to him.

ARMY, ARMED FORCES. During the 17th and particularly the 18th centuries, the **Khalsa** fought tenaciously for the **Punjab**, and such features as the sword and steel became symbols of power for them. **Ranjit Singh** created a strong army, showing a particular preference for **Sikh** troops, and in the 1840s the Khalsa army met the British in determined battles. This won British respect for the Khalsa, and they extensively recruited Sikhs for the Indian army. The British also insisted on Sikh troops retaining the Khalsa symbols. Following independence, opportunities have opened up in the navy and air force, but the government of India has steadily cut back the number of Sikhs in the army, arguing that each region is entitled to a quota. Sikhs reply that quality is much more important for an army than regional quotas and that the Punjab is the region on the border with Pakistan (the potential or actual enemy).

See also MARTIAL RACES; MILITANCY.

ARORA. A mercantile **caste** of western **Punjab** (now in Pakistan). Some are Sikhs, but a majority are Hindu. Many Aroras originally came from the **Pothohar** area, and many members of the caste are now prominent shopkeepers in **Amritsar** and other cities of the Punjab. During the **Singh Sabha** period they played a prominent part. **Vir Singh** was an Arora. Traditionally the Aroras, though a relatively high caste, were inferior to the **Khatri**s, but the difference has now progressively narrowed. **Khatri**-Arora marriages are not unknown nowadays.

See also BHĀPĀ.

ARRANGED MARRIAGES. In India marriages are usually arranged by families, not by individuals, and most Sikhs still prefer the system whereby the spouse is chosen by the head of the family. An increasing number are following the Western style of individual choice, but this still involves only a small fraction of the total population. In some cases arrangements are handled entirely by elders. Usually, however, prospective partners are given an opportunity to meet and to approve the choice. Families arranging marriages are expected to select partners who are well suited to each other in terms of age, education, economic status, and general suitability. **Sikhs** almost always observe **caste** rules when arranging marriages, choosing partners belonging to the same **zat** and of a different **got**.

See also CASTE.

ART. The **Sikh** production of, response to, and appreciation of art has been complex, nuanced, and at times ambivalent. On the one hand, there is a bias against iconic art, which has affinities with the one discovered within the general Islamic imaginary, that such art detracts from the veneration of the divine. This bias is often supported by reference to the hymns of the Sikh **Gurus**, which often underscore the futility of idol and image worship. It is for this reason that so few statues of the Sikh Gurus exist and that paintings of the Sikh Gurus are generally discouraged. On the other hand, like Muslim artists who delved into other genres of art, such as calligraphy and arabesque in which they have particularly excelled, Sikhs, too, have applied their skills and talents to such aniconic art, particularly into extensive visual expositions of the predominant Sikh symbols, the ***ik oan̄kār*** and the **khanda**. These two major Sikh symbols and their artistic expression put to rest any question as to the existence of an art that is uniquely Sikh. This claim requires noting as much of the art that shall be mentioned in this brief definition falls into multiple types and styles, none of which are distinctively Sikh. What all of these have in common though is that they are somehow connected with the Sikhs and the Sikh tradition, be it an art Sikhs understood as religious or secular. This includes art produced by those identifying as Sikh or patronized by Sikhs, art produced within Sikh territories during the period of the Sikh kingdom, and those pieces that depict themes and ideologies generally considered Sikh.

Such art would include painted frescoes within gurdwaras and, indeed, images of the Gurus, the latter of which appear as early as the mid-1670s. These were visual depictions of the Sikh Gurus commissioned by the eldest son of **Guru Hari Rai**, **Ram Rai**, and painted by a **Mughal** artist. We have as well paintings within the first **janam-sakhis**, perhaps reaching the height of artistic excellence in the 1750s with the paintings of Alam Chand Raj as preserved within the extant B40 Janam-sakhi. One even discovers courtly images of **Guru Gobind Singh** and his father, **Guru Tegh Bahadur**, placed

within manuscript copies of the **Dasam Granth**. The huge prices these today fetch at auction (almost always bought by Sikhs themselves) are a testament to the Sikh appreciation of such imagery. The output of such painted images of the Gurus notwithstanding, the rule against portraying the Gurus in statue form is still a strong one and is rarely if ever compromised.

A further serious and sustained inquiry into the visual representation of the Sikh Gurus begins to appear in the late 18th and early 19th centuries in the **Pahari** region of the Punjab where the so-called Kangra and Guhara styles of art emerged. Painters here were generally not Sikhs, but they nevertheless produced images of Guru Gobind Singh as a raja, sometimes engaged in hunting, reflecting him through the dynamics of their own Hindu, Jain, or Buddhist (or in the rare case here, Sikh) beliefs and understandings. What this suggests is that if art is prepared without the intention to have it revered, then it meets with a modicum of acceptance among conservative Sikhs. And just in case certain Sikhs approach paintings of the Gurus and the great martyrs of the tradition differently, with an intent to revere, the caveat that Sikhs should not venerate these as Sikhs do not worship images often appears. This caution also reflects the bias of the **Singh Sabha**, the late 19th-century organization of educated **Khalsa** Sikhs dedicated to aligning contemporary Sikh practice with their modern and conservative interpretation of the **Guru Granth Sahib**.

As art was understood to be a part of the “cultural technology of rule,” it should elicit little surprise that **Maharaja Ranjit Singh**’s court patronized numerous artists, many of whom were Europeans visiting the Lahore Darbar, to depict events at court and certain Sikh themes. These paintings, coupled with an extensive artistic investment in uniquely Sikh-styled Kashmiri shawls, medals, ornaments, manuscripts, coins, jewelry, and arms among other things, ensured that the styles of the Lahore court permeated not only the Punjab but Europe as well, as the omnipresence of the Sikh Kashmiri shawl in both 19th-century Paris and Victorian England indicates.

Since the early 20th century there have been a number of Sikh painters whose works touch upon Sikh themes and have been viewed the world over by both Sikhs and non-Sikhs. **Amrita Sher-Gill** (1911–1941), for example, was an artist of talent. Although her mother was Hungarian, most of her work was Sikh in nature. Also there was Sobha Singh (1901–1986), whose dreamy art has exercised a considerable fascination for Sikhs. More recently Kirpal Singh has specialized in painting scenes from Sikh history in rather garish colors. What has made Kirpal Singh’s art particularly forceful recently is the creation of a good number of Sikh statues depicting the scenes from his most famous “historical” paintings situated at Gurdwara Mehdiana Sahib in the village of **Mehdiana Sahib** near Jagroan in Ludhiana district. These include

among many others an image of the famous Sikh martyr Baba Dip Singh, who often appears with severed head in hand as a testament to his trust in the Gurus.

To these artists may be added Arpita Kaur, Arpana Caur, Devinder Singh, Manu Kaur Saluja, and a few others. Easily the most popular artists recognized as Sikh today are Amrit and Rabindra Kaur Singh, known throughout the world as the Singh Twins, both of whom are based in Great Britain. Their art is, and indeed their lives are, singularly collaborative and form a powerful intervention into notions of single authorship, the idea of the individual, Eurocentricism, and binaries such as West and East and past and present. Many of their paintings may be understood as Sikh as these powerfully convey the dramatic critiques noted above through commanding images of Sikhs. In some instances the Singh Twins have painted scenes from Sikh history, particularly their symphonic *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, which artistically re-creates the massacre of Sikhs during **Operation Blue Star** and symbolically renames it to accord with the title of George Orwell’s masterpiece *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

See also ARCHITECTURE.

ARTĪ. *See* ARATĪ.

ARTICLE 25 OF THE 1949 INDIAN CONSTITUTION. Sikhs have long taken issue with the reference to the Sikh tradition within Article 25 explanation 2 of subclause b of clause 2 of the Indian constitution which states that reference to Hindus shall be construed as including a reference to persons professing the Sikh, Jaina, or Buddhist religion, and the reference to Hindu religious institutions shall be construed accordingly. The reasons for such contention lay in the belief that the said article reduces the Sikh tradition to a sect of Hinduism and not an independent religious tradition.

ĀRYĀ SAMĀJ. A Hindu reformist movement, founded in 1875 by Swami Dayananda Saraswati, which secured a very strong following in the **Punjab**, particularly from **Khatris**. Initially it had many **Sikh** members, but Dayananda’s writings, especially his *Satyārath Prakāsh*, in which he ridicules **Guru Nanak**, and an attack by several members on the **Gurus** in 1888 led to considerable Sikh opposition to the movement, which has continued ever since.

‘**ARŽULALFĀZ.** “Exposition of Terms.” The lengthiest Persian composition attributed to Bhai **Nand Lal Goya**, made up of some 1,346 *baits*, or couplets.

ĀSĀ DĪ VĀR. The most cherished of all the *vārs* in the **Adi Granth**, appearing on pages 462–475. The 24 *paurīs* forming the structure are by **Guru Nanak** and likewise 44 of its 59 *shaloks*. The remaining 15 shaloks are by **Guru Angad**. Asa di var is regularly sung in **gurdwaras** early in the morning, daily in the case of large gurdwaras, and weekly or as occasion demands in the smaller ones. The peaceful quality of *rāg āsā* is well suited to the early morning hour.

ASCETICISM. This was not encouraged by the **Gurus**, their emphasis instead being on moderation in all things. All the Gurus who were old enough were married men, and the life of a *grahastī* was enjoined. In spite of this, a preference for celibacy has remained among many **Sikhs**, particularly for **Sants**. As well, certain varieties of Sikh, most notably the **Udasi** Sikhs, practice asceticism and follow what is believed to be the example of **Guru Nanak**’s eldest son, **Siri Chand**.

But as with many of the ideas and observations that were earlier a part of the **Hindu** imaginary, the Sikh Gurus, particularly Guru Nanak, reworked and reinterpreted these ideas through the light of their own dynamic personalities. For Guru Nanak, “true” asceticism was very much unlike that which one discovers elsewhere in India. The true ascetic is one who lives among the world’s temptations but does not succumb to their powerful attractions. Put another way, the genuine holy man is one who lives purely in an impure world (impure because it is not *sach* or *sat*, truth).

ASFOTAK KABITT. “Obscure poems.” The final section of the modern, printed edition of the Dasam Granth covering pages 1429–1436. It is comprised of 48 poems, with a majority of savaiye and a sprinkling of *dohās* and *kabitts* in **Braj**. There is, as well, one poem recounting Guru Gobind Singh’s days in the Lakkhi Jungle, and another, in Persian, that is preceded by the formula *srī mukhvāk pātishāhī dasvīn* (“uttered from the blessed mouth of the Tenth Guru”) but which is popularly understood to be from the pen of Bhai **Nand Lal Goya**. This short poem of four couplets is alleged to be the first reference to the **Five Ks**. Collectively, the Asfotak Kabitts are rarely included in a discussion of the Dasam Granth.

ASHTAPADĪ/ASHTPADĪ. In theory, a **shabad** from the **Adi Granth** comprising eight verses. Almost always it adheres to this format, and there are collections of *ashtapadīs* in the **Adi Granth** by the First, Third, Fourth, and Fifth **Gurus**. **Sukhmani Sahib** is also termed an *ashtapadī*, but it is much longer than the standard format.

See also ADI GRANTH STRUCTURE.

ASHT-BHUJĀ DHUJĀ. “Eight-armed Standard.” The battle standard that is believed to have been used by Guru **Gobind Singh**, which is housed at Gurdwara **Hazur Sahib** in **Nander**, Maharashtra. It is called eight-armed because the standard is composed of three tridents, which supply six of the “arms” (i.e., points), while the other two “arms” are supplied by the “fierce teeth” (*ugradantī*), or straight blades, that protrude from its top. Tradition claims that it was given to the **Guru Gobind Singh** by the goddess Chandi herself and it was thus named after her, the eight-armed goddess of war.

ASIKETU. Literally, “One on whose flag (*ketu*) appears the sword (*asi*).” A rare epithet of **Guru Gobind Singh**.

ASIPĀṆĪ. “One in whose hand (*pāṇi*) is the sword (*asi*).” An epithet of **Guru Gobind Singh**.

ASMAN KHAN (?–1635). A Pathan who stole a number of items given to his father-in-law, **Painda Khan**, by **Guru Hargobind** and went on to take a hawk belonging to the Sixth Guru’s son Baba **Gurditta**. The famous Bhai **Biddhi Chand** Chhina recovered the items, after which Painda and Asman Khan fought against the Guru. The ensuing battle, which the **Mughal** faujdar also joined, took place in April 1635. Asman Khan was pierced by an arrow from Baba Gurditta’s bow, and he died.

ASRĀR-I ŞAMADĪ. “The Secrets of the Lord.” Munshi Jot Prakash’s Persian chronicle, likely written in 1728, dealing with the military affairs of Abdus Samad Khan. The first chapter of this work deals exclusively with the Khan’s struggle against **Banda** and his **Sikhs**, highlighting both Sikh resilience and courage.

ASTROLOGY. Astrology, which is so influential across India, is also powerful in the **Punjab**, with extensive patronage bestowed on the **Brahmans** who practice it. The **Tat Khalsa**, as opposed to the **Sanatan Sikhs**, took a hostile view of it as superstition and banned it in **Sikh Rahit Marayada**. It is impossible to estimate the effect of their ban on the **Panth**. Certain Sikh communities within Southeast Asia today, particularly within Thailand, are well-known practitioners of this art.

See also DIVINATION.

ATAL RAI (1619–1628). The youngest of the five sons of **Guru Hargobind**, Atal Rai died aged nine. According to tradition, this was because his father rebuked him for raising a playmate from the dead. To atone for his mistake, he entered a trance from which he did not awaken.

See also BABA ATAL GURDWARA.

ĀTMĀ (SKT. ĀTMAN). “Breath,” spirit, soul; the individual soul or spirit of a person. The objective of each person must be to free his or her *ātmā* from individuality and merge it in the **Paramatma**, which is **God**. This is achieved by means of regular *nām simraṇ* and good works.

ATONEMENT. Atonement is a word that does not occur frequently in **Sikh** theology, but the need is nevertheless felt and the means of acquiring it provided. According to Sikh theology, atonement is, in general, attained through *nām simraṇ* and the performance of worthy actions. It does, however, provide for particular lapses, both serious and minor. In the case of **Amrit-dhari Sikhs**, four *tanakhāhs* (serious infringements of the **Khalsa** code) are specified: cutting one’s hair, eating *kuṭṭhā* meat, committing sexual intercourse with any person other than one’s spouse, and using **tobacco**. Less serious *tanakhāhs* are also listed in **Sikh Rahit Marayada**, the concluding one specifying in general terms, “Neglecting to fulfill any part of the **Rahit**.” Penances may be reading passages from scripture a specified number of times, sweeping the floor of a **gurdwara**, or cleaning the shoes of worshipers attending the gurdwara.

ATTAR SINGH OF BHADAUR (1833–1896). Related to the **Phulkian** princes, he controlled a large estate near Barnala under the suzerainty of **Patiala**. He chose, however, to be a member of the **Lahore Singh Sabha**. A learned person, he possessed an extensive library and excelled in historical research. He was involved in the founding of **Khalsa College** and in educational issues generally.

ATTAR SINGH MASTUANA (1866–1927). A famous **Sant** of **Malwa**, renowned for his austerities, preaching, and **kirtan**. He was educated by the **Nirmalas** and adopted celibacy. Traveling around the **Punjab**, he was received with the reverence accorded to great Sants. To receive *pāhul* at his hands was considered a high honor. **Tara Singh** and **Jodh Singh** were among those who took initiation from his **Panj Piare**. Attar Singh was for a time a patron of the **Bhasaur Singh Sabha** but abandoned it when Babu **Teja Singh** adopted views that were considered too extreme. He remained a supporter of the **Tat Khalsa** movement.

AUCKLAND, GEORGE EDEN, EARL OF (1784–1849). Governor-general of India, the brother of **Emily Eden**, author of the famous memoir *Up the Country*. Lord Auckland was responsible for dealing with Maharaja **Ranjit Singh** in the 1830s in an attempt to ensure that Russia would not make her presence felt within British India.

AURANGABAD. A town in the modern-day state of Maharashtra that was, for a time, the headquarters of the **Mughal** emperor **Aurangzeb**. In 1706 **Guru Gobind Singh** entrusted the delivery to the emperor of the former's famous letter, the **Zafar-nama**, to Bhai **Daya Singh** (one of the **Panj Piare**), although later Sikh accounts claim that he was accompanied by another of the Panj Piare, Bhai Dharam Singh, who stopped at Aurangabad for a short time. During his visit here, he stayed at the residence of a Sikh that subsequently became a Sikh meeting place and ultimately the **gurdwara** today known as Gurdwara Bhai Daya Singh.

AURANGZEB, MUHIUDDIN MUHAMMAD 'ALAMGIR (1618–1707). Although Aurangzeb is best known to Sikh tradition as the **Mughal** emperor who was responsible for the execution of **Guru Tegh Bahadur** and for a generally hostile attitude to **Guru Gobind Singh**, his interference in the history of the Sikh Panth dates back to the time of the Seventh Guru, **Guru Har Rai**. Grooming the latter's son, **Ram Rai**, as a Mughal courtier and granting to him a jagir in the territory that is now Dehra Dun, the emperor attempted to play a role, perhaps as arbiter, in deciding the guruship after the death of Guru Har Rai. After the nomination of **Guru Har Krishan**, and especially following the execution of the Ninth Guru, however, Aurangzeb realized that his decision in the matter would come to naught and thus paid little attention to the Sikhs afterward, concerned as he was with the situation in southern India and the problem of the **Marathas**.

The Sikhs nevertheless managed to catch the emperor's attention in the early 1690s when, in 1693, he issued an order to the faujdar of the **Punjab** to disallow Sikhs to gather at **Anandpur** on special festival days such as **Baisakhi**. It would not be until the early 1700s that the emperor would again become involved in Sikh affairs. According to Sikh tradition, Aurangzeb had offered the Guru and his Sikhs safe passage during the second siege of Anandpur jointly conducted by imperial forces and those of the Pahari rajas in 1704 only to break that pledge immediately after the Sikhs had abandoned the fort, an act that prompted the writing of the Tenth Guru's famous Epistle of Victory.

It was to Aurangzeb that the Tenth Guru addressed the Persian letter **Zafar-nama**. Certain Sikh traditions claim that the receipt of the letter prompted Aurangzeb to soften his attitude toward the Tenth Guru and the

Sikhs. Contemporary Mughal documents suggest that this relaxing may well have occurred. In these, Aurangzeb commands that couriers be sent to summon the Tenth Guru into the imperial presence. Aurangzeb, however, died before the Guru could make the journey to Aurangabad, where the former was spending his last years. There are other Sikh traditions, however, that note that the letter actually prompted the death of the emperor. In these two traditions, therefore, we find two distinct understandings of Aurangzeb that produce a more nuanced Sikh image of the emperor. It is this more nuanced image that contemporary sources produced before 1708 also display. Within the **Bachitar Natak**, the **Pakhyan Charitr**, and the *Zafar-nama*, one discovers praise of the emperor (alongside condemnation in the *Zafar-nama*) and a recognition of the legitimacy of the Mughal-Timurid line. There is also the claim that the emperor was at least passingly familiar with the content of the **Adi Granth**.

AUSTERITY. In contrast to many branches of the Hindu tradition, rigorous austerity is forbidden by Sikhism. A moderate lifestyle that falls between asceticism and gross materialism is commended, and the way of the *grahastī* is upheld as ideal.

See also NĀM JAPO, KIRAT KĀRO, VANḌ CHHAKO.

AUSTRALIAN SIKHS. Sikhs have been settled in Australia since 1860. They were initially employed as camel drivers in the deserts of Central Australia. During the 1860s word percolated through to Sikh soldiers in Singapore and Hong Kong of a new island called Telia (Australia). On discharge, some of them traveled south and worked cutting sugarcane, centered on Cairns. They are now heavily concentrated in and around the small town of Woolgoolga in northern New South Wales. They make up only 0.06 percent of the present Australian population.

See also MIGRATION.

AVATĀR. A “descent.” The incarnation of a deity (usually Vishnu). The term is also used for the birth of **Nanak**.

AVTAR SINGH VAHIRIA (1848–?). The principal apologist for the **Sana-tan** group in the controversy with the **Tat Khalsa** for control of the **Singh Sabha**. A follower of **Khem Singh Bedi**, he wrote a rejoinder to **Kahn Singh Nabha**’s *Ham Hindū Nahīn* (We Are Not Hindus). His principal work, *Khālsā Dharam Shāstra*, was first issued in 1894 and then in an expanded edition in 1914. In 1898 he formed the *Chalda Vahir*, an itinerant band of earnest preachers whose task was to visit towns and villages exhorting **Sikhs** to uphold the true customs and rituals. They should never, he

maintained, be misled by these new and erroneous notions that were being spread in the **Panth** by mischievous adherents of the emergent Tat Khalsa. Vahiria was an intelligent Sikh, but because he belonged to the wrong side little attention has been paid to him.

AZAD PUNJAB. “Free Punjab.” A scheme drafted in 1943 by the Sikh political leadership, in the light of the threat posed to **Sikh** interests by the potential creation of Pakistan, that aimed to secure a rearrangement of Indian territory to benefit the Sikhs. To this end Giani Kartar Singh, the principal architect of the plan, proposed that the Muslim majority districts of the state be detached to create a new province in which Sikhs would predominantly figure although no single community would constitute an absolute majority.

‘**AZIZUDDIN, FAQIR (1780–1845).** A courtier in the darbar of Maharaja **Ranjit Singh** who was particularly able as both a diplomat and physician. Faqir Azizuddin’s first task was to care for **Charles Metcalfe** and aid in the maharaja’s negotiations with him, which ultimately resulted in the Treaty of Amritsar in 1809. His success in this persuaded the maharaja to appoint Azizuddin as his principal negotiator in regard to the foreign relations of the Lahore Darbar.

B

B40 JANAM-SĀKHĪ. An unusually clear **janam-sakhi** in terms of period, place, and sources. It is dated S.1790 (1733 C.E.) and was evidently recorded near **Nanak**'s village of **Kartarpur**. The sources include those used by the **Puratan** tradition, the **Adi Sakhis**, small amounts from the **Miharban** and **Bala** traditions, and some from oral tradition. The janam-sakhi is called after its accession number in the India Office Library.

BĀBĀ. "Old man." A title of great respect applied to men (or even boys) of wisdom and piety. The **janam-sakhis** normally use this title for **Nanak** in preference to **Guru**.

BABA ATAL GURDWARA. A nine-story **gurdwara** built close to the **Golden Temple** in **Amritsar** to commemorate the death at the age of nine of **Atal Rai** in 1629. Atal Rai was the son of **Guru Hargobind** and his wife **Mahadevi**. The traditional cause of his death arose from the psychic powers of the child. He had restored to life one of his friends who had just died and his father was angry with him for performing this miracle. Atal Rai took this rebuke to heart and immediately gave up his own life. The foundation of the gurdwara was laid in 1770, and it was completed in 1835. Surmounted by a gilded dome, the octagonal structure is 45 meters high and remains the tallest in Amritsar. The metal covering of the doors is engraved with scenes of **Sikh** history. On the walls of the first floor are series of frescoes, the most conspicuous being scenes with text from the **janam-sakhis**, painted in the last decade of the 19th century. Unfortunately, these frescoes have recently been "restored" in a way that deprived them of their original form.

BĀBĀ BAKĀLE. Tradition relates that the child **Guru Har Krishan**, before he died, uttered the words "Baba Bakale" ("The Baba [who is in] Bakala [will be the next **Guru**]"). Claimants hastened to Bakala, a village in **Amritsar** District, thereby posing a problem as to who was the designated one. A merchant called **Makhan Shah Lubana**, whose life was endangered during a storm at sea, promised to donate 500 gold mohurs to the Guru if he was

saved. To fulfill his vow, he traveled up to the **Punjab** and in Bakala was confronted by several claimants. (The number varies.) To test them he presented each with five mohurs. (This also varies.) When he laid the mohurs before **Tegh Bahadur**, he was asked where the remainder were. At once he rushed up to the rooftop to proclaim that he had found the true Guru.

BABAK (?–1642). “Faithful.” A Muslim minstrel who was a part of the entourage of **Guru Hargobind**, at least according to *Gur-bilās Pātishāhī Chhevīn*. According to the author, Babak performed the final rites of the rababis **Satta and Balwand** and performed *kīrtan* on the occasion.

BĀBĀ NAUDH SINGH. Famous novel by the Sikh literary savant **Bhai Vir Singh**, first published in 1921. The intention behind *Bābā Naudh Singh* was similar to the aims of all of Vir Singh’s popular novels, namely to present what he considered to be the true Sikh way of life, to describe Sikh men and women whose courage never faltered and who were willing to bear all of life’s miseries in *chardhī kalā*, or with optimistic high spirits.

BĀBAR-VĀṆĪ. “Utterances concerning **Babur**.” Four hymns composed by **Nanak** probably following the **Guru**’s witnessing of Babur’s attack and sacking of the town of **Saidpur**. In them he writes about the devastation caused by Babur’s army and condemns the **Lodi** rulers for failing to protect the people of Hindustan against the ravages of Babur’s army. Babur represented divine judgment on the Lodis, coming on them as the Angel of Death. The four hymns are *Āsā* 39, *Āsā ashtapadī* 11, *Āsā ashtapadī* 12, and *Tilāṅg* 5 (**Adi Granth**, pp. 360, 417, 417–418, 722–723).

BABBAR AKĀLĪ. “Lion **Akali**.” A revolutionary group that embraced violence in the fight for control of the **gurdwaras** in the early 1920s. The group was suppressed by the British.

See also GURDWARA REFORM MOVEMENT.

BABBAR KHĀLSĀ. An extremist offshoot of the **Akhand Kirtani Jatha**. It claimed responsibility for killing many **Sant Nirankaris** in the 1980s.

BABUR, ZAHIRUDDIN MUHAMMAD (1483–1530). The first **Mughal** emperor of India, who won a portion of north India by defeating Sultan Ibrahim Lodi at the Battle of Panipat in 1526. **Babur** had first ruled in Farghana but was forced out of there and then harried in Kabul by the invading Uzbeks. This turned his attention to north India. Although the anecdotes of the meetings between **Nanak** and Babur recorded by the **janam-sakhis** are not believable, the naming of **Saidpur** as a town attacked by

Babur is certainly credible. At some point Nanak evidently witnessed Babur's invasion of India. The four hymns known collectively as the **Babar-Vani** point to this.

See also MUGHAL RELATIONS.

BĀBUR-VĀṆĪ. *See* BĀBAR-VĀṆĪ.

BACHITAR NĀṬAK. “The Wonderful Drama.” The term is sometimes used for the entire **Dasam Granth** but is normally confined to a poetic composition in it attributed to **Guru Gobind Singh**. The form of the poem is autobiographical, describing the **Guru**'s prebirth meditation, his ancestry, and the early battles in his career. Comprised of 14 chapters, or *adhyays*, the text ends rather abruptly after narrating certain events of 1696 in chapter 13, while chapter 14 reaffirms the **Guru**'s faith in the divine. It thus concludes before the founding of the **Khalsa** at the end of the 17th century. The form and style of the Bachitar Natak combine a number of courtly **Brajbhasha**/Sanskritic poetic styles, one of which is the *vamsāvalī*, or lineage text.

BACHITAR NĀṬAK GRANTH. A portion of the Dasam Granth that includes the **Bachitar Natak** proper and a number of compositions related to the battles of the goddess Chandi, such as the *Chaṇḍī Charitra Ukti Bilās*, *Chaṇḍī Charitra*, *Vār Srī Bhagautī jī*, *Giān Prabodh*, and *Chaubīs Autar*, as well as the *Brahmā Auatār* and the *Rudr Auatār*.

BACHITTAR SINGH, BHAI (?–1705). Bachittar Singh was one of five brothers who joined the **Khalsa** on the day of its foundation in 1699. He earned his keep during the first Battle of **Anandpur** in September 1700, when he was asked by **Guru Gobind Singh** to engage an intoxicated and battle-armored elephant who was being used by the army of the **Pahari rajas** to batter down the gate of Lohgarh fort. **Sikh** tradition claims that Bachittar Singh engaged the pachyderm and pierced its armored forehead with a mighty thrust of his spear. Injured, the animal turned on its army and instilled terror on its soldiers. Five years later at the last Battle of Anandpur, the Singh warrior was seriously wounded by the pursuing **Mughal** and **Pahari** soldiers as he guided the Sikhs away from the town.

BADAL, MANPRIT SINGH. *See* MANPRIT SINGH BADAL (1961–).

BADAL, PRAKASH SINGH. *See* PRAKASH SINGH BADAL (1927–).

BADAL, SUKHBIR SINGH. *See* SUKHBIR SINGH BADAL (1962–).

BAGARIAN. A distinguished lineage of **Bhais** dating back to the time of **Guru Hargobind**. By caste they were **Tarkhans**. Their ancestral village is in Sangrur District, where the lineage still flourishes today.

BAGHDAD. According to a long-lived Sikh tradition, **Guru Nanak** visited Baghdad on his way back to India from his trip to Mecca and Medina. To commemorate the site at which he is said to have discoursed with **Sufis**, a memorial was built with a Turkish inscription. The visit is noted in the first *vār* of **Bhai Gurdas**.

BAGHEL SINGH (?–1802). The **misdar** of the Karorsinghia **misl** who overran **Mughal Delhi**. In March 1776 a force of Rohillas under Zabita Khan and Sikhs under Baghel Singh's leadership sacked the imperial capital. Afterward, in March 1783, Sikh forces entered the Red Fort in Delhi and settled with the impotent Mughal emperor, Shah Alam II, who granted the Sikhs the right to build **gurdwaras** at many of the sites associated with the history of the Sikh **Gurus**. These included easily the three most famous gurdwaras in Delhi: **Sis Ganj**, **Rakab Ganj**, and **Bangla Sahib**.

BAHADUR SHAH (1643–1712). The successor of **Aurangzeb** and the seventh of the **Mughal** emperors. Sikh tradition claims that before he became the Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah (known as either Prince Mu'azzam or Shah Alam prior to 1707) was introduced to the Tenth Guru, **Guru Gobind Singh**, in the mid-1690s by the Persian poet **Bhai Nand Lal Goya**, and that it was in part for this reason that the future emperor had more or less left the Guru alone on his expedition to deal with the recalcitrant Hill Chiefs of the Punjab in 1696, a journey mentioned within the **Bachitar Natak**. Bahadur Shah evidently regarded Guru Gobind Singh as an ally in the inevitable struggle with his brothers after the death of the former's father, Aurangzeb, and ultimately allowed the Tenth Guru into the imperial presence to exchange gifts in 1708, a meeting that is noted in both the **hukam-namas** of Guru Gobind Singh and the Persian chronicles of the period. It was both in support of the emperor and to secure his help in having **Anandpur** returned to the Sikhs that the Guru proceeded to the south, only to be assassinated at **Nander** on the banks of the Godavari River.

At the death of the Tenth Guru, Bahadur Shah was in southern India dealing with a rebellion begun by his brother Kam Bakhsh. After settling this issue the emperor returned from the south in 1710 and was confronted with the uprising of Jats and other peasant groups in northern India, all of whom had found a leader in the figure of **Banda** (who Mughal chroniclers refer to as Guru, or in some cases Guru Gobind Singh). In the light of Banda's incursions, Bahadur Shah ensured that a number of anti-**Khalsa** decrees were

established, particularly the order that all Hindu men in the employ of the state shave off their beards to obviate any Sikh attempt at infiltration through disguise. Unfortunately for the emperor, this issue which so plagued him would not be resolved in his lifetime.

BAHAUDDIN. Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariyya, **Pir** of **Multan**, widely acclaimed in the **Sufi** hagiography of the **Punjab**. Although he died in 1266, he appears in several meetings with **Guru Nanak** in the **janam-sakhis**, where he is known as Makhdum Bahauddin.

BAIKUNTH. The heaven of Vishnu; paradise. In strict terms, **Sikhs** do not believe in another place, *baikunth* being the state of bliss that the worshiper enjoys through the practice of *nām simaran*. In practice, however, Sikhs commonly regard death as the soul's passage to its "heavenly abode." *See also* SVARAG.

BAISAKHĪ. The New Year festival held on the first day of the month of Baisakh (March–April). Technically, the new year begins a month earlier, but Sikhs regard Baisakhi as the appropriate date. It marks the ending of the previous agricultural cycle and the beginning of a new one. **Guru Amar Das** took over the existing Baisakhi festival and made it a day for visiting the **Guru**. The **Panth** believes that **Guru Gobind Singh** chose this day for the inauguration of the **Khalsa** in 1699, when large numbers would be visiting **Anandpur** Sahib. The festival is marked by visits to **gurdwaras**, where the *nishān* is replaced, and by singing and dancing of the **bhangra** and the **giddha**. Baisakhi is also the occasion for many **Sikhs** to be initiated into the Khalsa.

See also KHALSA INAUGURATION.

BAJ SINGH (?–1716). According to **Sikh** tradition, Baj Singh (also known as Baz Singh) received amrit from the hands of **Guru Gobind Singh** himself. Having accompanied the Guru to southern India in the latter's attempt to meet the emperor, Baj Singh was subsequently one of the five Sikhs who were sent back to the Punjab with **Banda**. It is likely that he established a strong relationship with Banda, which may explain why he played such an important role in all of Banda's so-called campaigns. His exhibition of courage and fearlessness in the face of certain death in battle won him the title Baj Bahadar, that is, Baj the Brave. As with many of Banda's devoted followers, he, too, was captured by the forces of **Abdus Samad Khan** at Gurdas-Nangal in December 1715 and subsequently executed in **Delhi** in June 1716.

BAKALA. The town in **Amritsar** District today known as Baba Bakala because of its association with the baba who once resided there, namely **Guru Tegh Bahadur**.

See BĀBĀ BAKĀLE.

BAKAPUR DIVAN. Held on 13–14 June 1903, the divan at the small village of Bakapur was perhaps the most significant moment in the history of **Singh Sabha** reforms. The Divan, or religious assembly, sponsored by the **Bhasaur** Singh Sabha was occasioned by the conversion of a Muslim maulavi and his family to **Sikhism**.

BAKHSHĪ. “Exchequer.” A Mughal official concerned with the finances of the state. **Guru Gobind Singh** mentions that he had had dealings with the corrupt bakhshi of **Aurangzeb**’s court in his **Zafar-nama**.

BAKHSHĪSH. “Grant.” Traditionally one of six foundations from which certain **Udasi** orders trace their origin. Other **Udasi** orders trace their origins to one of the four *dhuāns*.

See also AKHĀRĀ.

BALA, BHAI (1466?–1544?). Bhai Bala, or Bala Sandhu, is named by the **janam-sakhis** of the **Bala** tradition as one of the two companions of **Nanak** in his early life and travels. There is no doubt that **Mardana** was a companion of the **Guru**. The existence of Bala is, however, doubtful, and if he did exist, he occupied a very minor place in Nanak’s life. Popular portraits of Nanak frequently depict him flanked by **Mardana** the minstrel and by Bhai Bala fanning him with a peacock feather.

BĀLĀ JANAM-SĀKHĪ TRADITION. The most popular of the **janam-sakhi** traditions among ordinary Sikhs. For more than two centuries the **janam-sakhis** of the **Bala** tradition have appealed to the popular imagination because of the extent to which they feature the grossly miraculous and the bizarre. They have enjoyed this reputation in spite of the fact that the tradition probably had its origins among a schismatic group, the **Handalis**. The tradition takes its name from **Bhai Bala**, who figures very prominently in most of the anecdotes. There are two recensions of the tradition, one including the death of **Nanak** and the other ending before it.

BALA SAHIB GURDWARA. The **gurdwara** near the Nizamuddin railway station in Delhi that marks the cremation of **Guru Har Krishan**. Two of **Guru Gobind Singh**’s wives were also cremated there: **Sahib Devi** and **Sundari**.

BĀL GUNDAṆ. “Plaiting the hair,” a ceremony that may be performed when a child is five. In the presence of the **Guru Granth Sahib**, the hair is tied either in plaits or in a topknot.

BALAK SINGH (1785–1862). Founder of the **Namdhari** sect. He lived in Hazro in the northwestern corner of **Ranjit Singh**’s domain and was influenced by another teacher, Jawahar Mal. Like his master, Balak Singh exhorted his followers to return to the simple religious message of the **Gurus**. In accordance with this message, he taught a strict doctrine of *nām simaraṇ*. The impact of Balak Singh’s personality on the sect was considerable, and by the time of his death he was recognized by his followers as the eleventh Guru after the tenth one, **Guru Gobind Singh**. He was succeeded when he died by **Ram Singh**, recognized as the twelfth Guru and as the reincarnation of Gobind Singh. Following his death and the move down to **Bhaini Sahib**, the ranks of the **Namdharis** swelled considerably, drawing mainly from **Tarkhans** and poorer **Jats**.

BALDEV SINGH (1902–1961). A **Jat** and an **Akali** politician prominent in the negotiations for India’s independence. After independence, he joined Nehru’s central government and remained there until 1952.

BALLU, BHAI. Originally a barber, Ballu embraced **Sikhism** after having met with the Second Guru, **Guru Angad**. Ballu is particularly well regarded because of his association with **Guru Amar Das**, however. According to tradition, when the Third Guru met with the emperor **Akbar** it was Ballu who suggested that the emperor make a gift of some land to the Guru’s daughter, **Bibi Bhani**.

BALVAND AND SATTA. Rai Balvand and Satta the Dum were two rabab players who, according to tradition, sang **kirtan** for **Guru Angad**. After some years they became increasingly insubordinate and left the **Guru**’s service. When they lost popularity, they were humbled. To signal their contrition they wrote the first five stanzas of **Tikke di Var**, composing the remaining three stanzas in the time of **Guru Arjan**.

BALVANT SINGH “CANADIAN” (1882–1917). A prominent Ghadrite who moved to **Canada** in 1906. He helped establish the first **gurdwara** in Vancouver, which was inaugurated in 1908. In this same year the Canadian government began to draft restrictive immigration laws refusing entry into Canada of the families of Indian immigrants, the vast majority of whom were Sikh. Balvant Singh returned to India, along with one Bhag Singh, in order to make Indians privy to the harsh treatment meted out to Sikh settlers and to

test the new “continuous journey” rule which held that Indians must travel directly to a Canadian port from their point of origin. To this end, therefore, Balvant and Bhag Singh traveled on a ship from Hong Kong to San Francisco via Vancouver. While stopped at Vancouver they were only allowed to bring along their wives after a hard-fought battle.

Afterward, Balvant Singh also played a role in the infamous journey of the *Komagata Maru*. While the ship was docked in Vancouver, Balvant Singh was a member of the shore committee set up by Sikh immigrants in the city to organize relief for the ship’s passengers. Unfortunately, the ship was forced to return to India with its passengers, an act which persuaded the Canadian Sikhs to establish ties with their more politically radical Indo-American co-religionists and fellow immigrants. Arrested a number of times as a result, Balvant Singh was ultimately implicated in the shooting death of William Hopkins, an immigration inspector killed by Mewa Singh, but he was later found innocent. He was forced to leave Canada with his family soon afterward. On his way to India he ended up in Thailand, where he joined the Ghadr movement, was hospitalized, and then arrested and finally sent back to India to stand trial. In 1917 he was given the death penalty and hanged.

BĀṆĀ. The dress of the **Khalsa**, at least for males. It comprises tight-fitting trousers and a long shirt worn outside the trousers. The **Five Ks** must be worn, with the **kirpan** on a baldric across the right shoulder.

BANDA (1670–1716). The early history of **Banda Bahadur**, or **Banda the Brave**, is known only by tradition. Probably born in Poonch, on the northern fringe of the **Punjab**, he was called Lachhman Dev but became a Vaishnava ascetic under the name of Madho Das. He was dwelling in the Deccan when **Gobind Singh** came south, and meeting the **Guru** shortly before the latter’s death in 1708, he was instantly converted to the **Sikh** faith. Renamed Banda (Slave), he was commissioned to return to the Punjab and to wreak vengeance on **Vazir Khan**, who had executed the Guru’s two youngest sons. Banda journeyed up to the Punjab and gathered an army of peasants. From this point on his history can be established, at least in general outline, though numerous questions remain unanswered. The towns of Samana and Sadhaura were sacked, and in 1710 he confronted Vazir Khan near Sirhind. Fighting with great determination, he defeated and killed Vazir Khan. For five years Banda’s fortunes ebbed and flowed as he led peasant armies fighting against the embattled **Mughal** rulers of the Punjab. Finally, he was trapped in the village of Gurdas-Nangal in Gurdaspur District by **Abdus Samad Khan** and was captured after a lengthy siege. Escorted to Delhi in chains, he was barbarously executed in June 1716.

Banda's role in Sikh history is still a controversial one. For many Sikhs, referring to Banda simply as Banda is itself a point of contention as most Sikhs prefer him to be named Banda Singh Bahadur despite the fact that there is little evidence to suggest that he had taken the initiatory elixir of the **Khalsa** or that he had referred to himself as Singh at all. Banda has, though, left behind a number of **hukam-namas** and, perhaps more importantly, a series of coins on which a Persian inscription is cast, making clear that all of his power and ability stemmed from the grant of Guru Gobind Singh through the majesty of **Guru Nanak**. Interestingly, written on some of the **hukam-namas** is the date, beginning with year one, of what was likely considered the Sat Yuga, or Age of Truth, initiated, it appears, by Banda's successes in the Punjab, a point underscored by the claim *satiyuga vartaī hai*, "we have established the Age of Truth."

BANDĀĪ SIKHS. During the years of warfare in the early 18th century, a dispute within the **Panth** opened up between the followers of **Banda** (the Bandai Sikhs) and those who identified with one of **Gobind Singh's** widows, **Mata Sundari** (the **Tat Khalsa**). This concerned Banda's decision to abandon the blue clothing of the **Khalsa** for red, his insistence that his followers be vegetarians, and the introduction of a new Khalsa slogan (*fateh darshan*). The dispute, which probably indicates factionalism within the Khalsa, has tarnished Banda's reputation to a limited extent.

BANDĪ BĪR. "Warrior Bound." A poem in Bengali written by the famous Bengali litterateur Rabindranath Tagore celebrating the valor of **Banda**.

BANGĀLĪ. The word used in Singapore and other Southeast Asian countries to describe any person from northern India, but particularly used as a description of Sikhs.

BANGLA SAHIB. A handsome **gurdwara** in central New Delhi marking the spot of Raja Jai Singh's bungalow. **Guru Har Krishan** stayed here for some months and contracted smallpox prior to his death in 1661. The **gurdwara** is large and wealthy, with a golden dome, and attracts numerous worshippers. Attached to it is a secondary school for girls and a clinic. Within its precincts there is as well the Baba Baghel Singh Museum, in which a number of Kirpal Singh's original paintings are displayed.

BĀṆĪ. "Sound," "speech." In **Sikh** usage *bāṇī* designates the utterances (believed to be inspired) of the **Gurus** and **bhagats** recorded in the **Adi Granth** or **Dasam Granth**.

See also GURBĀṆĪ.

BANNERJEE, INDUBHUSHAN. Historian of the **Sikhs** whose two-volume *Evolution of the Khalsa* (1935 and 1947) reinterprets the creation of the **Khalsa** through an Indian nationalist lens.

BANNO (1558–1645). A **Sikh** of **Guru Arjan** who lived in the village of Mangat in Gujrat District. Unreliable tradition relates that he secured permission to take Arjan's newly dictated scripture back to his village on loan. The reluctant Guru granted permission, provided he promised to keep it there for one night only. This condition Banno circumvented by traveling very slowly to and from Mangat, copying the entire scripture on the way. This is one tradition of the purported origin of the **Banno Bir**. The other is that the new scripture was sent with Banno to **Lahore** for binding and that he made his copy while on this mission.

See also ADI GRANTH BANNO RECENSION.

BANNO BĪR. "Banno volume." The **Adi Granth Banno recension**, which disagrees with the **Kartarpur recension** of the scripture. A manuscript is held in Kanpur that purports to be the original Banno version. This claim is unproven.

BAOLI SAHIB. The **gurdwara** erected over the paved well (*bāolī*) in **Goindval**, marking one of the most sacred sites for the **Sikh** faith. Descending to the well are 84 steps, with an inscription that it was constructed by **Guru Amar Das**. The significance of the well lies in its relation to the teachings of **Guru Nanak**, on the one hand, and to other such sacred watering-places (*tīraths*), on the other. According to tradition, the well was established by Amar Das, his intention being that this well should be the Sikhs' *tīrath*, or center of pilgrimage. Certainly the 84 steps (corresponding to the traditional 84 **laks** of existence in the total transmigratory cycle) suggest that the purpose of the well was more than the mere provision of drinking water.

Guru Nanak's teaching, however, appears to conflict with this tradition. Nanak, with the characteristic **Sant** emphasis on interiority, had plainly declared that there was only one *tīrath*, only one pilgrimage center for the true devotee, and that was within his own heart. All others were useless. Here, however, we find his second successor apparently inaugurating the very thing he had spurned. Obviously, the establishment of this new pilgrimage center was the response of a **Guru** who was facing problems of definition and organization. Such problems would have been slight in the early days, with devotees joining the **Panth** directly, but now the Panth was growing. A second generation of Sikhs was growing up and the bond of immediate personal commitment, for family or geographical reasons, was weakening.

Bonds other than those based on direct religious belief were becoming necessary, and the Third Guru found the solution in recourse to traditional Indian institutions. He provided not only this new pilgrimage center but also distinctive festival days, distinctive rituals, and a collection of sacred writings (the **Goindval Pothis**). Guru Nanak had rejected all these. Guru Amar Das, in different and more difficult circumstances, was compelled to return to them. This does not imply disloyalty. There was no rejection of Guru Nanak's stress on interior devotion, as the works of Guru Amar Das make clear. Moreover, the innovations he introduced were not really innovations at all. He did little more than reintroduce traditional Punjabi customs, together with a strong element of the Sikh faith. The pilgrimage center was in Goindval. It was not at Hardwar, nor at Kurukshetra, nor at any of the other places that his Sikhs might have visited.

Today Baoli Sahib shares the privilege of being one of the rare places in the world at which Sikhs cremate worn and tattered copies of the sacred scripture, the **Guru Granth Sahib**. *See also* ADI GRANTH BHOG; SANT TRADITION; TRANSMIGRATION.

BAPTISM. *See* AMRIT SANSKĀR.

BĀRAH-MĀHĀ. "Twelve months" is a popular Indian poetic form in which the author reflects feelings through the changing aspects of nature as portrayed in the 12-month cycle. **Nanak** and **Arjan** each composed a *bārah-māhā* (**Adi Granth**, pp. 133–136, 1107–1110).

BARELAVI, SAYYID AHMAD (1786–1831). A prominent exponent of Wahabi Islam, he made his way to **Delhi** in the first decade of the 19th century and came under the influence of Shah Abdul Aziz, son of the famous Naqshabandi pir, Shah Waliullah (1702–1763). In 1818 he returned to Delhi after having spent time in Rai Bareli, his ancestral village, and central India. At this time he began to preach a variety of Wahabi Islam, which attracted a number of followers to him. Leaving for the Hajj, he subsequently returned to India and declared himself a *mujtahid*, one committed to struggle (that is, reform). Ultimately, he declared a *jihād* against the **Sikhs** and the Sikh kingdom of **Maharaja Ranjit Singh** that a number of Afghan tribes joined. In May 1831 a powerful Sikh force overtook him and his followers, killing him during a skirmish at Balakot.

BARNALA, SURJIT SINGH. *See* SURJIT SINGH BARNALA (1925–).

BARRIER, NORMAN GERALD (1940–2010). Jerry Barrier was among the first scholars of the Sikh tradition to pay serious academic attention to the significance of the role played in the construction of all things Sikh by the late 19th-century Sikh reform movements, the **Singh Sabhas**. His very noteworthy archival text, *The Sikhs and Their Literature* (1970), proved seminal in understanding the Singh Sabha's importance.

BASANT. The spring festival held on the fifth day of the light half (waxing moon) of the month of Magh (January–February), observed by Hindus and **Sikhs**. Everyone should wear a yellow garment. Basant is also the name of a *rāg* in the **Adi Granth** associated with the season of the same name. It is performed in a slow tempo, eliciting a gentle melody that is said to depict quiet joy.

BASANT KĪ VĀR. **Guru Arjan**'s shortest of 22 *vārs* made up of only three *paurīs* of five lines without any *shaloks* added to the *paurīs* (**Adi Granth**, p. 1193). The predominant theme of the *vār* is the Guru's grace.

BASANT KĪ VĀR. A composition attributed to **Guru Arjan**'s elder brother **Prithi Chand**, which incorporates the Fifth Guru's similarly titled *vār* found in the **Adi Granth** (p. 1193).

BASARKE. **Guru Amar Das**'s native village, situated near **Amritsar**.

BATHINDA. An old Punjabi town with an ancient fort. According to tradition, **Guru Gobind Singh** visited the town in 1706 to determine the strength of the fort.

BĀVAN AKHARĪ. "Fifty-two letters." A poem based on the alphabet, each verse beginning with a letter in sequence. The form is named after the Devanagiri alphabet of Sanskrit and Hindi, which has 33 consonants, 16 vowels, and three conjuncts. There are two *bāvan akharīs* in the **Adi Granth**, both in *rāg gaurī*. **Guru Arjan**'s has an introductory *paurī* and *shalok* followed by 55 *paurīs* and *shaloks* (**Adi Granth**, pp. 250–262). Kabir's has 45 *paurīs* (**Adi Granth**, pp. 340–343).

BAVAÑJĀ KAVĪ. "Fifty-two Poets." According to popular tradition the Sikh **darbar** of **Guru Gobind Singh** consisted of 52 poets, the three most famous of whom are **Bhai Nand Lal Goya**, Kavi Chandra Sain **Sainapati**, and **Gurdas Singh (Gurdas II)**. An examination of manuscript poetry said to be from this period, however, clearly demonstrates that far more than 52 poets graced the Guru's kavi darbar. It is likely that the number 52, hallowed

as it is because of its association with Sanskrit and Devanagari, both of which are traditionally believed to have been handed down by the gods, is used in order to convey an amount of sanctity on this assembly. Certainly at one point in time there may have been 52, but the period in which the Guru's darbar flourished was one during which there was a great deal of movement by poets, artists, and litterateurs between subimperial courts.

BEANT SINGH (1922–1995). A Sikh politician who belonged to the Indian National Congress. He secured the chief ministership of the Punjab in 1992. In August 1995, he was assassinated by Sikh militants for alleged human rights violations.

BEAS SATSANG. *See* RADHASOAMI.

BEDI. The **Khatri** subcaste to which **Guru Nanak** belonged. Comparatively few **Bedis** became **Sikhs**, but those who did enjoyed considerable prestige as **Guru-vans**. One distinguished lineage was that of the **Bedis of Una** descended from **Sahib Singh Bedi**. Another was the lineage centered on **Rawalpindi**, which included **Khem Singh Bedi**.

BENATĪ CHAUPAĪ. “Invocation in the chaupai meter.” The epilogue to the **Pakhyān Charitra** from the **Dasam Granth**, part of **Sodar Raharas**.

BENI. A **bhagat**, unknown apart from his three compositions in the **Adi Granth**.

BENTINCK, LORD WILLIAM CAVENDISH (1774–1839). Governor-general of India from 1827 to 1835 who was responsible (along with Ram Mohan Roy) for legislation making sati (widow burning) illegal. Bentinck met with **Maharaja Ranjit Singh** in October 1831 as a pretext for opening negotiations with the amirs of Sindh in the hope of averting a Sikh advance to that region. The maharaja, it appears, was not altogether ignorant of this subterfuge, something Bentinck likely suspected since he had issued to Ranjit Singh an assurance that the British would maintain “eternal friendly relations” with the Sikh kingdom.

BHAGAT. A bhakta; an exponent of **bhagti**. In **Sikh** usage a bhagat is one of the **Sant** poets, such as **Kabir** or **Namdev**, whose works appear in the **Adi Granth**. The Hindi versions are “bhakta” and “bhakti,” the latter being the general term applied to the whole devotional movement in India (the Bhakti movement).

BHAGAT BĀNĪ. “The utterances of the bhagats.” *Shabads* or *shaloks* by **bhagats** that are included in the **Adi Granth**. For the most part these works were incorporated into the text because the ideas espoused by the respective bhagats were in consonance with those of the Sikh **Gurus** whose works are also with the **Adi Granth**. In some instances the Gurus actually comment upon the hymns of the bhagats in an attempt to bring out the uniqueness of the **Sikh** doctrine.

BHAGAT-RATANĀVALĪ. A work unreliably attributed to **Mani Singh** on the **bhagats** listed in *vār* 11 of **Bhai Gurdas**. The work is also called *Sikhān dī Bhagat-mālā*.

See also GYAN-RATANĀVALĪ.

BHAGAT SINGH (1907–1931). A young revolutionary, active against British rule during the late 1920s. He was captured in 1929 and executed in 1931. Although he came from a **Sikh** family, he held atheist beliefs. Attempts to reclaim him are sometimes made by members of the contemporary **Khalsa**. Often, especially during the anniversary of his execution, certain Sikh groups reiterate the claims made within the autobiography of **Bhai Randhir Singh**, who founded the **Akhand Kirtani Jatha**; in his *Jehl Chitṭhīān*, or *Notes from Jail*, a chapter is solely devoted to the good bhai ji’s meeting with the revolutionary. Here it is implied that Bhagat Singh discarded his atheism and embraced the identity of the **Khalsa**.

BHAGAUTĪ. The goddess **Durga** (or **Devi**) who appears in three works in the **Dasam Granth**. Her appearance created a problem for **Tat Khalsa** scholars, who strongly affirmed monotheism. The question was settled by concluding that Bhagauti symbolizes **God** as the Divine Sword. As such she (or it) is addressed in the invocation to **Ardas**. Historically the goddess was also propitiated as a symbol of divine and sovereign rule within the **pahari** region of the Punjab where **Guru Gobind Singh** resided from the mid-1680s onward.

See also CHANDĪ KĪ VĀR; DEVI WORSHIP; PAHĀRĪ RĀJĀS.

BHAGO. Mai Bhago, a **Sikh** woman who by tradition was initiated by **Bhag Kaur** when the **Khalsa** was first established. She fought for **Guru Gobind Singh** in the Battle of **Muktsar** and remained with him thereafter. Mai Bhago is best known among Sikhs in regard to the part she played in the story of the **Chali Mukte**, or Forty Liberated Ones. The tradition notes that 40 Sikhs had abandoned the Guru during the siege of **Anandpur** in 1704–1705. Hearing of this, Mai Bhago was so distressed that she sought these men out and persuaded them to go back to the Guru and seek his

forgiveness. Accompanying these Sikhs, she and the men stopped at Khidrana, where they engaged the combined **Mughal**-Pahari force pursuing the Guru. They were all cut down except for Mai Bhago, who was badly injured, and one other Sikh named Mahan Singh. Guru Gobind Singh made his way back to the site, where he offered solace to Mahan Singh by tearing the *bedāwā*, that is, the disclaimer they had all previously signed abandoning the Guru and his Sikhs. The Guru then cared for Mai Bhago, who remained with the Guru as one of his bodyguards though always clothed in male attire according to the tradition.

BHAGTI (BHAKTI). Adoration of a personal god.

BHĀĪ. “Brother,” a title of reverence traditionally conferred on male Sikhs of acknowledged piety and learning. Among those who have received the title are **Gurdas**, **Nand Lal**, and **Mani Singh**. The title continues to be used today with its strong sense of respect still intact, two 20th-century examples being **Vir Singh** and **Jodh Singh**. A second usage emerged in the 19th century, when “bhai” came to be applied to teachers in **Gurmukhi** schools. A third usage developed in modern times whereby **ragis** are also known by the same title. When applied to ragis, it loses much of its traditional veneration and may even be used in a pejorative sense. The term is also popularly used as an affectionate title for a man to show him friendship.

BHAI BALA. *See* BALA, BHAI (1466?–1544?).

BHAINI. The village in Ludhiana District where **Ram Singh**, Second **Guru** of the **Namdharis**, was born. When Ram Singh moved down from the northwest, where he had been a soldier in the army of the Punjabi state, Bhaini became the center for the Namdharis.

BHAI PHERU MORCHA. On 28 December 1922, mahant Kishan Das, the manager of the Bhai Pheru Gurdwara, handed over management of the shrine to the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee** (SGPC) as part of the **Gurdwara Reform Movement**. He later reneged on the agreement and petitioned the government to have the gurdwara and its extensive lands returned to him. In December 1923 the local police arrested the manager along with SGPC workers. This was despite the fact that the deputy commissioner of Lahore had sided with the SGPC. Subsequently, the SGPC representatives and certain **Akalis** came to take possession of the gurdwara, after which the mahant lodged a complaint with the police that they were attempting to forcibly expel him. The police came and arrested the lot of them, afterward

the commissioner reversed his earlier decision. In protest, the Akalis launched a *morchā* that only ended after the gurdwara was put into the hands of the SGPC after the passing of the **Sikh Gurdwaras Act of 1925**.

BHĀĪ RANDHĪR SINGH DĀ JATHĀ. *See* AKHAND KIRTANĪ JATHĀ.

BHALLA. The **Khatris** subcaste to which **Guru Amar Das** and Bhai **Gur-das** belonged.

BHĀṆĀ. One of the more important concepts in Sikh ideology connoting the will, wish, or pleasure of the divine. According to this ideology, the entire creation of the universe resulted from the sweet will of the divine.

BHANA, BHAI (trad. 1536–1644). Bhai Bhana was apparently the very long-lived son of the much revered **Baba Buddha**. When his father died in 1631, Bhai Bhana took over the task of anointing the new **Guru**, which he did with regard to **Guru Har Rai**.

BHANGANI. In 1688 **Guru Gobind Singh** won the Battle of Bhangani, the most important of those he fought against his neighbors in the **Shivalik Hills** until the 1704 attack on **Anandpur**. In this battle, which is vividly described in **Bachitar Natak**, he defeated **Fateh Shah** of Garhwal, who was at the head of a force of combined **Pahari rajas** including **Bhim Chand** of Bilaspur/Kahlur.

BHANGI MISL. A large **misl** centered on a village in the **Amritsar** District. It was founded early in the 18th century by Hari Singh and acquired its name because of his fondness for *bhāṅg* (cannabis). It grew in size and strength, dividing into several groups under individual **sardars** and forming a confederacy. For a time it controlled territory extending from Attock to **Multan**, briefly emerging as the paramount power of west **Punjab**. A succession of deaths in the late 1760s, however, deprived the federation of effective leadership. In the 1790s the Bhangis opposed the rising power of the **Shukerchakia misl** under **Ranjit Singh** but collapsed following the confrontation at Bhasin in 1799 and soon after disappeared.

BHANGRĀ. A lively Punjabi folk dance performed by men or boys dressed in colorful garb. Dancers form a circle around a drummer. As they dance vigorously around him, he determines the beat with his **dholak** drum. The dance is very physical and is accompanied by suitable shouts from the participants. The *bhangra* season in the **Punjab** villages extends from the sowing

of wheat to its conclusion at the **Baisakhi** festival. In recent years the bhangra beat has become particularly popular with **Sikhs** of the **diaspora** (particularly in England) and is blended with other musical styles.

BHANI (1535–1598). The younger daughter of **Guru Amar Das**, wife of **Guru Ram Das**, and mother of **Guru Arjan**. Bibi Bhani is renowned for her pious service, particularly toward her father, Amar Das. She is also remembered as having been given a gift of land by the emperor Akbar at the time of his visit to Guru Amar Das.

See also WIVES OF THE GURUS.

BHĀPĀ. “Brother” in the **Pothohari** dialect spoken around **Rawalpindi**, used of the **Sikhs** from that area by the Sikhs of central **Punjab** (**Manjha**, **Doaba**, and **Malwa**). By **caste**, the Sikhs of the Rawalpindi area are predominantly **Khatris** and **Aroras**, and the term is typically used dismissively by **Jats** to express opprobrium toward Sikhs of these castes. Until recently it was never used in polite company or in print, but today the word is used quite openly.

BHASAUR SINGH SABHA. The branch of the **Singh Sabha** founded by **Teja Singh Bhasaur** of the village of Bhasaur in the princely state of **Patiala**. The actual foundation was in 1893. In 1907 it became the **Panch Khalsa Divan** (also known as the **Khalsa** Parliament), thus marking its divergence from the **Chief Khalsa Divan**. Teja Singh Bhasaur was not its founding president, but he was the spirit behind it. For him, the **Sanatan Sikhs** were far too timid, and the **Tat Khalsa** was not much better. His ideal was strictly fundamentalist and offered an awkward challenge to the dominant views of the **Singh Sabha** and the Chief Khalsa Divan. **Brahmanical** concepts that he detected in Sikhism were one of his targets, as was **caste**. Both conversion of non-Sikhs and reconversion of lapsed **Sikhs** were vigorously advocated, ideals that were prominently displayed at a famous gathering at the village of Bakapur in 1903. In the Bhasaur Singh Sabha, beards flowed free, women were required to wear **turbans**, **Sahaj-dharis** were cast out, **Ardas** was changed, and the **Ragmala** was dropped from the **Adi Granth**. Eventually the actions of the Bhasaur Singh Sabha became too radical for more orthodox Sikhs to accept, and in 1928 Teja Singh Bhasaur was banished from the **Panth** by **Akal Takhat**. The Panch Khalsa Divan then faded from view, losing the allegiance of some prominent Sikhs who had hitherto supported them.

See also KHĀLSĀ RAHIT PRAKĀSH.

BHATTA, BHAI. A prominent **Sikh** of the Pakpattan area (today located in Pakistan) who is mentioned in a number of **hukam-namas** issued by the **Gurus** to the Sikh community at Pakpattan.

BHATTAL, RAJINDER KAUR (1945–). Sikh politician and member of the Indian National **Congress** Party who was the only Sikh **woman** to hold the chair of chief minister of the **Punjab**.

BHATRA. A tiny caste of peddlers and astrologers, mainly from Sialkot and Hoshiarpur Districts. Some of the Bhatras were **Sikhs**, and the first identifiable Sikhs among the immigrants to England were from this **caste**. They went there in the early 1920s and earned a living peddling clothes and food-stuffs from door-to-door. The term “Bhatra” is regarded by many members of the community as demeaning. They prefer Bhat.

See also UNITED KINGDOM SIKHS.

BHAṬṬ. The Bhattas were a subcaste of **Brahmans** from **Malwa**, who by profession were bards. The allegiance of some of them to the **Sikh Gurus** evidently began when one of an extended family became a follower of **Amar Das**. In the time of **Guru Arjan** many of them composed panegyrics in praise of the various **Gurus**, and 123 of their compositions have been recorded in the **Adi Granth**. Several of them also wrote **Bhatt Vahis**. Like practically all Brahman Sikhs, the various members of the subcaste did not accept initiation into the **Khalsa**. Those who remained Sikhs adopted the style of **Sahaj-dharis**.

BHAṬṬ BĀṆĪ. The 123 compositions of the bards whose works are included on pages 1389–1409 of the **Adi Granth** and are generally recorded as *savaiyye*. These works are of a courtly nature and highlight the courtliness and kingliness of the early **Gurus**. There is a special emphasis in these on the court of **Guru Ram Das**.

BHAṬṬ VAHĪ. A genealogy (account book) of a **Bhatt**. Because the Bhattas were bards by profession, several of them recorded genealogies of the **Gurus** and supplemented them with extensive chroniclers’ details. These they wrote in a script called Bhatakshri, which was a family code, such as Lande and Mahajani. Their works were transcribed into **Gurmuki** by Giani Garja Singh and are now held by **Punjabi University** in **Patiala**. The information they supply (particularly concerning the last two Gurus) can be useful if treated cautiously.

See also GURŪ KĪĀN SĀKHĪĀN.

BHIKHAN (1480–1574). Two works by Bhikhan appear in the **Adi Granth**. Traditionally, he is regarded as a **Sufi** from Kakori near Lucknow who died in 1574. It is possible, however, that he was a **Hindu Sant** of the same name.

BHIM CHAND (reigned 1665–1692). The **Rajput** ruler of Kahlur/Bilaspur, the predominant **Pahari** kingdoms within the **Shivalik** Hills. Sikh tradition claims that Bhim Chand took umbrage at Guru Gobind Singh's courtly displays and understood the latter to be an upstart. To chastise the Guru, therefore, Bhim Chand secured the support of other hill rulers and with Fateh Shah of Garwal mounted an attack against the Tenth Master and his forces in 1688, which began the Battle of **Bhangani**. In this the Guru had triumphed, a victory he relates in the **Bachitar Natak**. In 1691 **Guru Gobind Singh** went to the aid of Bhim Chand in the latter's battle against the **Mughal** commander Alif Khan, recorded as the Battle of Nadaun. In 1692 Bhim Chand abdicated in favor of his son Ajmer Chand.

BHINDRANVALE. See JARNAIL SINGH BHINDRANVALE (1947–1984).

BHOG. Literally, “pleasure”; sexual intercourse; consummation. In Sikh usage the term also designates the ceremonial concluding of a complete reading of the **Guru Granth Sahib**. The procedure is as follows: If guests are to be present, they are invited to assemble immediately before the projected time of completion. The reading concludes with either the **Rag-mala** or (for those who dispute its authenticity) **Guru Arjan's Mundāvaṇī** and attached *shalok*, the work that immediately precedes it on the last page of the **Guru Granth Sahib**. The six appointed stanzas of **Anand Sahib** are then read; **Ardas** is recited; a *hukam* is taken; and *karāh prasād* is distributed to all who are present. After it is over, a mantle, whisk, or canopy for the **Guru Granth Sahib** is commonly donated, and *laṅgar* may be served.

See also AKHAND PĀTH.

BHOG MARK. The practice of inscribing an auspicious symbol (such as a swastika) on a blank folio of a manuscript of the **Adi Granth** following the completion of an *akhaṇḍ pāth*.

BHUJAṅGĪ. “Snakelike.” This was a title appended to the names of those **Nihang** Sikh warriors who were particularly skilled in the martial arts.

BHUPINDER SINGH (1891–1931). Maharaja of **Patiala** who was one of the more influential Indian princes of the early 20th century. He was largely responsible for transforming Patiala into a modern city.

BIBEK BĀRDHĪ. “The Ocean of Discrimination.” An unpublished manuscript collection of **rahit-nama** injunctions prepared in 1877 by one Bhagvan Singh, a Brahman who converted to **Sikhism**.

BIDHI CHAND CHHINA (?–1640). According to tradition, Bidhi Chand had, early in life, taken to banditry. Upon seeing **Guru Arjan**, however, he decided to change his profession and become a **Sikh** sevadar. Although he was involved in many famous incidents, such as accompanying Guru Arjan to Lahore as the latter was about to be executed, Bidhi Chand is best known for his success in recapturing two horses, Dilbagh and Gulbagh, which were being brought from Kabul for **Guru Hargobind** and had been seized by **Mughal** officials of **Lahore**. This led to one of the skirmishes between Guru Hargobind and Mughal forces.

BIJAI SINGH. One of the most famous novels in Punjabi authored by the eminent **Bhai Vir Singh**. The work revolves around the heroic character of Bijai Singh, who represents the ideal male Khalsa Sikh complete with the **Five Ks**. Like Vir Singh’s previous novel *Sundarī*, *Bijai Singh* too is set during the turbulent time of the 18th century when, the novel strongly implies, **Khalsa** Sikhs gladly suffered all types of privations to ensure that righteousness prevail. The overriding purpose of these works was to persuade modern-day Sikhs to ensure that the **Sikhism** to which they adhere is the one for which these great and stalwart heroes sacrificed their lives.

See also LITERATURE.

BIKRAMA SINGH (1835–1887). A younger brother of the Raja of **Kapurthala** and an important patron of the **Singh Sabha**. A supporter of the **Sanatan** view, he was a scholar of **Sikh** scriptures and a master of classical music.

BIKRAMĪ. *See* SAMMAT DATING.

BIKRAM SINGH (1842–1898). Raja of Faridkot and the leading patron of the **Singh Sabha**. A supporter of the **Sanatan** view, he also favored modern education and persuaded the Singh Sabha to encourage it. In 1898 he played an important role in the controversy over the electrification of **Harimandir Sahib**, leading to the success of the campaign.

See also FARĪDKOT ṬĪKĀ.

BINOD SINGH (?–1716 trad.). A disciple of the Tenth Sikh Master. Binod Singh, who accompanied **Guru Gobind Singh** to the Deccan in 1706, was (like **Baj Singh**) one of the five Sikhs who returned to the Punjab with **Banda**. Although he took part in many of Banda’s campaigns, he eventually

fell out with the Sikh warrior in 1714 because of the schism the so-called innovations of Banda had engendered. He nevertheless remained in **Amritsar** where apparently he was recruited by the **Mughal** army. Although he made his way to Gurdas-Nangal, it is claimed that he chose not to fight against Banda, after which he was attacked by the very imperial army of which he was a part. It seems that Binod Singh died in the fighting.

BĪR. Volume, tome, recension.

BIRĀDARĪ. “Brotherhood.” A patrilineal descent group that traces its origins to a common ancestor. Most biradaris are limited to four or five generations and are confined to a compact area.

BĪR GURŪ. This is a work in Bengali, written by Rabindranath Tagore, that sketches the life story of **Guru Gobind Singh**, emphasizing how the Tenth Master had prepared his Sikhs for a life of defending righteousness.

BIR SINGH, BHAI (1768–1844). A prominent **Sant** during the period immediately following the death of Maharaja **Ranjit Singh**. Bir Singh commanded a large following during events leading to the collapse of the **Punjab** kingdom. He was killed in an attack on his center by **Hira Singh Dogra**.

BIRTH CEREMONY. Water is poured into a steel or iron cup, sweets or honey are added and stirred with a **kirpan** while the first five stanzas of **Japji** Sahib are recited. A few drops are then given to the child to drink, the remainder being drunk by the mother. A prayer of thanksgiving is also offered. This ceremony is voluntary.

BLASPHEMY. This term, hitherto limited to Jewish, Christian, and Muslim usage, has recently begun appearing in Sikh publications. Literally meaning “to damage a reputation,” it originally referred to speech, thought, or action that manifested contempt for **God** or denied his or her existence. In **Sikh** circles the term is loosely used for anything that contradicts the conventional teachings of the **Panth**.

BOLE SO NIHĀL, SATI SRĪ AKĀL. This phrase is generally understood as the Sikh *jaikarā*, or victory cry. The translation roughly is “[Whosoever] says this shall be blessed: true is the Timeless One.” According to tradition, it was introduced by **Guru Gobind Singh**; today it forms a part of Sikh liturgy as it is shouted out at the end of the **Ardas**. Usually the Sikh leading the **Ardas** will call out the first portion, often preceded with *jo*, the relative

“who”: *Jo bole so nihāl*. The gathered *saṅgat* will respond with the second part. This second portion, *sati srī akāl*, is also used as a general greeting and salutation.

BOTA SINGH (?–1739). A Sikh martyr. Tradition records that he went into hiding during attempts to exterminate the Sikhs but was shamed by the comment that the **Khalsa** never hid. With a companion, Garja Singh, he proclaimed his Khalsa allegiance and openly began collecting a toll on the highway near **Tarn Taran**. When this failed to attract notice, he dispatched a defiant letter to **Zakariya Khan in Lahore**. A large force was sent to capture them, and after they resisted stoutly, both were killed. Interestingly, the story perhaps also suggests changing power dynamics within 18th-century Mughal India.

BRAHAM-GIĀNĪ. One who knows Braham (**God**); a model of piety and good works.

BRAHMAN. According to the varna hierarchy, the Brahman caste is at the apex. Sikhs, however, tend to regard Brahmans as pretentious (particularly in rural areas) and place them distinctly lower on the **caste** scale. This is partly due to the strictures that the **Gurus** laid on Brahman pride and partly to the ordering of Punjabi rural society, which normally confers dominance on the **Jat** caste. Very few Brahmans have become **Sikhs**, notable exceptions being **Chhibbar** Brahmans. **Chaupa Singh** was a Chhibbar Brahman.

BRAJ/BRAJBHASHA. The vernacular spoken around Mathura and Brindaban, associated with Krishna stories. Braj differs from **Punjabi**, though they have a certain amount in common. The greater part of the **Dasam Granth** is in Braj, recorded in the **Gurmukhi** script. Braj was also a major literary language of northern India on the basis of which a very important literary community was established. Although associated with Krishna, Krishna bhakti, and stylistic literature, such as the *rītigranth*, Braj (in Devanagari script generally, although **Shahmukhi** manuscripts also exist) was also the predominant courtly language of the many subimperial Hindu kingdoms within the Mughal empire, such as the kavi darbar at Orchha. That Braj assumed this important status (its subordination to Persian and Sanskrit notwithstanding) stemmed from the fact that it was generously patronized by the **Mughal** emperors, making it therefore a Mughal literary language (indeed, there are some Braj grammars in Persian that were prepared for Mughal courtiers). It is highly likely that **Guru Gobind Singh** purposefully chose Braj as the principal literary language of his court (in the case of the Guru's darbar, it should be noted that Persian was also accorded status) in order to

bestow upon his collection of poets, or his *kavi darbar*, a courtly eminence in consonance with that of the Mughal **darbar**, the most glorious, significant, and well-known court within Indo-Islamic India.

See also BAVAÑJĀ KAVĪ.

BRAVERY. For the **Khalsa**, unyielding bravery merits the highest praise. Such quotations as the following passage from the **Chandi Charitr** within the **Dasam Granth** are held up for emulation: “Strengthen me, O Lord, that I shrink not from righteous deeds, That freed from the fear of my enemies I may fight with faith and win. The wisdom which I crave is the grace to sing your praises. Grant that when life’s span shall end I may meet my death in battle.”

BRITISH OFFICIAL SOURCES. During its period of rule in India, the British administration regularly released valuable publications of continuing usefulness. They include for the **Punjab**: *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* (including an atlas of India); settlement reports for individual districts; gazetteers of individual districts; decennial censuses, effectively beginning with the 1881 census; and *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, compiled by H. A. Rose (1919).

BROWNE, JAMES. *History of the Origin and Progress of the Sikhs* by James Browne, a servant of the East India Company, was published in 1788. This was a translation for Warren Hastings of *Risālā-i-Nānak Shāh* by his clerk, Budh Singh Arora, and contains many errors.

BUCKAM SINGH BAINS (1893–1919). The first Sikh to fight in the Canadian army during World War I. He died on 27 August in Ontario and was buried in Kitchener, Ontario, in what is perhaps the only grave of a Canadian Sikh soldier in the country.

BUDDHA, BHAI or BABA (trad. 1506–1631). A **Jat** from Kathu Nangal, who was originally called Bura Randhava. While he was still a child **Guru Nanak** renamed him Buddha (old man or wise man) because of his youthful wisdom and piety. Bhai Buddha served as a faithful disciple of six of the **Gurus**, dying at the reputed age of 125. Traditionally, he participated in the installation of all the Gurus after **Nanak**. **Hargobind**, **Arjan**’s only child, is believed to have been conceived after Bhai Buddha blessed Arjan’s wife, **Mata Ganga**.

BUDDHĀ DAL. *See* TARUṆĀ DAL.

BUDDHA SINGH, BHAI (?–1718). The great-great-grandfather of **Maharaja Ranjit Singh** who founded the Sukerchakia family. His ancestors were apparently welcomed into the Sikh faith by **Guru Har Rai**. He was personally administered **amrit** by **Guru Gobind Singh**. There are many Punjabi legends regarding Buddha Singh's daring and bravery.

BUDDHU SHAH, PIR (1647–1704). A Muslim pir who was rather fond of **Guru Gobind Singh**. According to tradition, Buddhu Shah met the Tenth Master in 1695 at Paonta Sahib. At the pir's recommendation, the Guru had hired a large number of Pathans. In 1688 at the **Battle of Bhangani**, all but one of the Pathan leaders deserted the Guru and threw their lot in with **Fateh Shah** and **Bhim Chand**. The Guru sent word of this to the pir, who immediately left for Bhangani along with 700 of his followers. The pir's sons as well as a number of his disciples were killed in the encounter. Later the **Pahari** rajas would complain to the **Mughal** faujdar of Buddhu Shah's assistance to the Guru, which led to his execution in 1704.

BUKIT BROWN. "Brown's Hill." A unique Chinese cemetery in Singapore that includes among its guardian statues approximately 25 pairs of **Sikh** guards. Generally, the Sikh guard statues range from three to approximately six feet in height and are arranged to the front left and the front right of the headstones (in one exception, in the back of a headstone) according to certain Feng Shui principles; they are placed just after statues of Chinese guardian faeries. It is likely that the Sikh presence at this characteristically Chinese burial ground attests to the reputation of the Sikhs in early 20th-century Singapore as excellent watchmen, or *jagās* (derived from Punjabi *jagāṇā*, "to awaken"). There is a somewhat similar statue of a Sikh guard protecting the prayer hall of the Khoo Kongsi Temple in Penang, Malaysia. In certain Chinese funerary practices in Malaysia, paper images of Sikh watchmen are burned in order to ensure that the deceased has a safe journey to the next world.

BULA. A well-known scribe from the period of Guru Amar Das.

BUNĠĀ. As the **Sikhs** gained control of **Harimandir Sahib** during the late 18th century, defensive buildings (*bunġā*) were erected around its surrounding pool. Smaller clusters were built around other major Sikh shrines but nothing to equal those at Harimandir Sahib. These bungas were named for the people or groups responsible for their erection, whether **misldars**, important **sardars**, rich communities in the towns, or particular sects, such as the **Nirmalas** or **Udasis**. One of them, **Akal Bunga**, houses **Akal Takhat**, the primary temporal center of the **Panth**. They remained in private hands until

the **Sikh Gurdwaras Act of 1925** recognized them as the property of Hari-mandir Sahib. The precise number is not known, but there would have been between 70 and 90. During the 19th century, the bungas provided accommodation for pilgrims, and some of them secured reputations as centers of learning. **Santokh Singh** was one poet who received his training in a bunga. Very few bungas now remain, since the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee** has demolished most of them to provide an uninterrupted **parik-arama** around the pool.

C

CALENDAR. *See* NANAKSHAHI CALENDAR.

CANADIAN SIKHS. The beginnings of **Sikh** migration to the West Coast of North America are obscure, though obviously it must date from the turn of the 20th century. In 1887 a troop of Sikhs who had been brought to the United Kingdom for Queen Victoria's jubilee returned to India via Canada. There is, however, no evidence that this created any desire to immigrate. The more likely explanation is that Sikhs serving in Hong Kong and Singapore heard of another island over the Pacific called Mitkan (America) and a few adventurous souls eventually found a way there. By 1903 there were approximately 300 Sikhs in British Columbia (virtually all of them men), a few of whom traveled down the coast to Washington, Oregon, and California. By 1908 more than 5,000 Sikhs had settled in British Columbia, most working for lumber companies. An attempt was made to frustrate their entry through a policy requiring all Indians to travel from their home country by a "continuous journey." The government of Canada was aware that every ship from India would call at some other port before reaching Vancouver and there could be no possibility of Indians migrating to Canada. This led to the ***Ko-magata Maru*** incident in 1914. At this time, hostility by white workers limited the number of Sikhs living in Canada to barely 700. During the 1960s, however, official policy was liberalized, leading to a significant reversal of Sikh migration, and Canada soon acquired a reputation as the most favorable destination. There are now more than 200,000 Sikhs living in Canada. Within Canada, the preferred destinations are British Columbia and Ontario.

See also MIGRATION.

CASTE. Sikhs explicitly reject caste in terms of status or privilege. **Nanak** denounced it, subsequent **Gurus** reinforced his message, and ritual observance confirms it. In **gurdwaras** all sit together, the only distinction being between men and **women**. All receive the same ***karāh prasād*** and eat in the same ***langar***, sitting in straight lines to do so. At **Khalsa initiation** all in-

itiates must drink the same *amrit*. Caste is, however, retained within the **Panth** as a social order. The Gurus, who were all **Khatris**, married their children within the same caste. This convention has survived largely intact, and consequently virtually every Indian **Sikh** belongs to a particular caste (Hindi: *jāti*; Punjabi: *zāt*). Each *zat* is divided into a number of subcastes (Hindi: *gotra*, Punjabi: *got*), and Sikhs (like most other Indians) are endogamous by *zat* and exogamous by *got*. In terms of *zat*, an absolute majority are **Jats**. Other important castes with both Hindu and Sikh sections are the Khatri and **Arora**. Distinctive Sikh castes are the **Ramgarhia**, **Ahluvalia**, **Mazhabī**, and **Ramdasia**.

See also ARRANGED MARRIAGES; DALIT.

CENTRAL MAJHA KHALSA DIVAN. One of a number of regional organizations that originated in the wake of the **Gurdwara Reform Movement** and lent support to the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee** and the **Akalis** in their *morcha* to rid **gurdwaras** of their apparently corrupt, non-Khalsa custodians. Their presence was particularly felt during the Gurdwara **Rakab-ganj** and **Guru ka Bagh** agitations.

CENTRAL SIKH LEAGUE. A political party formed by **Sikh** leaders in March 1919 for the following purposes: to rebuild the demolished wall of **Rakab-ganj Gurdwara**, to bring **Khalsa College** under panthic control, to liberate **gurdwaras** from their existing control, and to inspire Sikhs to participate in India's freedom struggle. An existing newspaper, *Khālsā Akhbār*, was taken over as organ of the party and renamed the *Akālī*. In 1920 the more radical **Akali Dal** was formed. Under the leadership of **Kharak Singh**, the Central Sikh League maintained a lively existence alongside the Akali Dal throughout the 1920s and early 1930s. In 1933 the two parties merged.

See also GURDWARA REFORM MOVEMENT; POLITICAL PARTIES, PREPARTITION; POLITICAL PARTIES, POSTPARTITION.

CHAITANYA (1485–1534). The founder of an important Vaishnava sect in Bengal, noted for his singing and dancing. It is assumed by some writers that **Guru Nanak**, who was a contemporary, must have visited him on his travels. There is no evidence for such a visit.

CHALĪ MUKTE. The “Forty Liberated Ones.” Forty men from the **Manjha** region who deserted **Guru Gobind Singh** during the siege of **Anandpur** and returned to their homes. Shamed by **Bhago** and their other women, they rejoined the **Sikhs** shortly before the Battle of **Muktsar**, in which all were killed. In recognition of their restored loyalty, the **Guru**, responding to the

pleas of Mahan Singh (the last to remain alive), tore up the disclaimer (*bedāvā*) they had signed in Anandpur and declared them to be mukte, men who had attained deliverance.

CHAMAR. Outcaste, normally a leather worker.

See also AD DHARM; CASTE; DALIT; RAMDASIA.

CHAMKAUR. After vacating **Anandpur** in 1704, **Guru Gobind Singh** withdrew to the village of Chamkaur, where another battle was fought with the pursuing **Mughals**. The **Guru**'s two eldest sons, Ajit Singh and Jujhar Singh, were killed in this battle, but he himself escaped. Today the town of Chamkaur is home to six **gurdwaras**.

See also SĀHIB-ZĀDE.

CHANANI. A canopy that is always over the **Guru Granth Sahib** in a **gurdwara**. Probably derived from the age-old symbol of sovereignty within South Asia, the *chhatrī*, or parasol, the *chanani* indicates great respect.

CHANDĪ CHARITRA. Two lengthy compositions in the **Dasam Granth**, both in **Gurmukhi Braj**, relating the exploits of the goddess **Chandi**, or **Durga**. One of the two is known as the *Chandī charitra ukati bilās*. Scholars tend to agree that **Guru Gobind Singh** refracted the exploits of the goddess through a contemporary lens and may have long thought of these as reflecting the various issues the Tenth Master had with the **Pahari rajas**. Some claim, moreover, that the writings about the goddess, in particular, may have indirectly attempted to put at ease the many disciples of the goddess in the Pahari region as to the **Sikh** intent at **Anandpur**.

CHANDIGARH. The joint capital of **Punjab** and Haryana. The city was designed and built after **Partition** by the French architect Le Corbusier. When the state of Haryana was formed in 1966, both states claimed Chandigarh. Consequently, it became a joint capital.

CHANDĪ KĪ VĀR. A work, correctly entitled *Vār Srī Bhagautī jī kī*, that is included the **Dasam Granth**. It is attributed to **Guru Gobind Singh** but is probably by one of his entourage. The poem, which is in **Punjabi** (not **Braj** like most of the **Dasam Granth**), tells the story of the struggle between the goddess Chandi and demons. The source is the Markandeya Purana. Its invocation is used at the beginning of **Ardas**.

See also BHAGAUTĪ.

CHAND KAUR (1802–1842). Wife of **Kharak Singh** and mother of **Nau Nihal Singh**. She claimed the regency following the death of her husband and son, assisted by the **Sandhanwalia sardars** and belief that her son's heir (his widow was pregnant) was in line for the throne, but she stepped down when the child was stillborn.

CHANDRA SAIN SAINAPATI. *See* SAINAPATI, CHANDRA SAIN.

CHANDU LAL (1766–1845). The able Khatri administrator of the Nizam of Hyderabad in the 18th and 19th centuries who endowed the Sikh shrine at **Nander**, near which **Guru Gobind Singh** was killed in 1708. Chandu Lal was a **Hindu** Khatri yet may also have considered himself a **Nanak-panthi** as he was a devotee of the **Udasi** Sikh **Baba Priyatam Das** to whose **Udasi** establishments he generously gave.

CHANDU SHAH. By tradition a **Khatri** of **Lahore** who tried unsuccessfully to marry his daughter to **Guru Arjan**'s son **Hargobind**. When this failed, the humiliated Chandu Shah is said to have participated in the arrest and death of **Arjan**. **Sikh** tradition reports that he subsequently earned the displeasure of the emperor **Jahangir** and was delivered to the scavengers of Lahore to be led through the streets, suffering shoe beatings on the way. Eventually, he was struck by an iron ladle and died.

CHANNAN SINGH, SANT (1907–1972). President of the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee** from 1962 to 1972, who earlier in life was the constant companion of **Sant Fateh Singh**.

CHAPPAR CHIRI. Site of a battle that took place on 12 May 1710 between the forces of **Banda** and **Wazir Khan**, the faujdar of **Sirhind**. The imperial forces were defeated and Wazir Khan was killed. Because of the town's association with the heinous murder of the two youngest sons of **Guru Gobind Singh**, Sikh warriors were particularly fierce during the battle. Today, there is a **gurdwara** here commemorating the event.

CHĀR BĀGH-I PANJĀB. A Persian chronicle completed in 1855 by one Ganesh Das Badhera, who served as a revenue official for the **Lahore Darbar** in the town of Gujarat that is today in Pakistan.

CHARHAT SINGH (?–1770). Grandfather of **Maharaja Ranjit Singh** who fought against Ahmad Shah Abdali.

CHĀR PADĀRATH. The four qualities: prosperity, observance of **caste** duties, success, and liberation.

CHARAN-AMRIT. “Foot initiation.” Also called *charan-pāhul*. The pre-**Khalsa** method of initiation into the **Panth**. The **Guru** or designated deputy would touch water with the toe of his right foot, and the candidate would then drink it as a token of submission.

CHARAN SINGH SHAHID (1885–1935). Punjabi Sikh novelist.
See also LITERATURE.

CHĀR BARAN. The four **castes** according to traditional Hindu belief: **Brahman**, Kshatriya, Vaisha, and Shudra.

CHARHDĪ KALĀ. “High spirits.” Unwavering confidence in divine justice; absolute certainty that overrides all doubts; supreme bravery that rises above any thought of defeat; cheerfulness.

CHARITRO-PAKHYĀN. *See* PAKHYĀN CHARITRA.

CHĀR SĀHIBZĀDE. This is the term that is generally used to designate the four sons of **Guru Gobind Singh**.

See also AJIT SINGH, SAHIBZADA (1687–1705); FATEH SINGH, SAHIBZADA (1699–1705); JUJHAR SINGH, SAHIBZADA (1691–1705); SĀHIB-ZĀDE; ZORAWAR SINGH (1696–1705).

CHATURBHUJ POTHĪ. This pothi comprises the third part of the **Miharban Janam Sakhi**. It was prepared by Sodhi Chaturbhuj, who was the youngest son of **Miharban** (1581–1639), whose father was **Prithi Chand**. Like the Miharban text itself, the Chaturbhuj Pothi is predominantly exegetical.

CHAUBĪS AUTĀR. Tales of 24 incarnations of the god Vishnu included in the **Dasam Granth**. They comprise 4,371 verses, of which 864 concern the Ram-avatar and 2,492 the Krishan-avatar. The language is **Braj** and the script **Gurmukhi**.

CHAUNKĪ. A period of *kīrtan*. All major **gurdwaras** have at least four *chaunkīs* (or “sittings”) each day. Their names and starting times are *Āsā dī Vār dī chaunkī* (early morning), *Bilāval dī chaunkī* (four hours after sunrise), *Raharāsī dī chaunkī* (immediately before the recitation of **Raharas**), and *Kalyān dī chaunkī* (immediately before **Kirtan Sohila**).

CHAUPĀI. A four-line stanza. In the **Dasam Granth** it designates a composition of 25 stanzas by **Guru Gobind Singh**, correctly known as **Benati chaupai**.

See also LITERATURE.

CHAUPAD. A brief hymn in the **Adi Granth** comprising four verses and a refrain.

See also ADI GRANTH STRUCTURE; LITERATURE.

CHAUPA SINGH (?–1723). A member of the Chhibbar **Brahman** family who was prominent in the retinue of **Guru Gobind Singh**. Chaupa Singh achieved importance as an associate of the **Guru** from the latter's childhood onward and is credited with writing a **rahit-nama**. This **rahit-nama** owes at least something to Chhibbar's influence.

See also CHAUPĀ SINGH RAHIT-NĀMĀ.

CHAUPĀ SINGH RAHIT-NĀMĀ. **Chaupa Singh** is said to have written the **rahit-nama** that bears his name. Although it was thought that this work was first written in the 1740s, making it too late to be his, recent manuscript discoveries have pushed this date back to the very early 1700s, establishing the possibility that Chaupa Singh was the actual author. The text certainly bears clear marks of his Brahmanical background. In addition to setting out a version of the **Rahit**, it contains a narrative of the life of **Gobind Singh** that gives the date of the founding of the **Khalsa** as 1697.

See also LITERATURE.

CHAURĪ. Chowrie; whisk used by a reader of the **Guru Granth Sahib** to protect the sacred volume from any impure object. Like the *chanani*, however, the *chaurī* is also an ancient Indian symbol of sovereignty and is thus well suited to the reverence associated with the **Guru Granth Sahib**.

CHETO. A leader of the **masands** cast out by **Guru Gobind Singh** for misappropriation.

See also PAÑJ MEL.

CHHANT. A lengthy hymn in the **Adi Granth**, usually consisting of four or six long stanzas.

See also ADI GRANTH STRUCTURE.

CHHIMBA. A depressed **caste** of calico printers. During the 20th century, **Sikh** members of the caste unsuccessfully tried to elevate their status by calling themselves Tank Kshatriyas.

CHHOTĀ GHALLŪGHĀRĀ. The “lesser carnage.” An occasion in 1746 when **Lakhat Rai**, chief minister of **Lahore**, killed several thousand **Sikhs** in a single engagement.

See also VADDĀ GHALLŪGHĀRĀ.

CHHOTĒ MEL. The **Sodhi** lineage descending from **Prithi Chand** was known as the “lesser relationship” as opposed to the “greater relationship” of **Suraj Mal**’s descendants. This lineage formed the leadership of the schismatic **Minas**, always mentioned as the first of the **Panj Mel**.

CHIEF KHĀLSĀ DĪVĀN (CKD). The body created in 1902 to unite the divided **Amritsar** and **Lahore Singh Sabhas** with their respective satellite **Singh Sabhas**. It acted as the principal voice of the **Sikhs** for the next 18 years, amid growing unease with its conservative and pro-British stance. The CKD was eventually overtaken by the more activist **Akali** movement, but it contributed much to convincing at least literate Sikhs that the Singh Sabha interpretation of their past was the only correct one. The CKD still exists, but its activity is largely confined to organizing its annual education conference.

See also GURDWARA REFORM MOVEMENT; POLITICAL PARTIES, PREPARTITION; POLITICAL PARTIES, POSTPARTITION.

CHILLIANWALA. An important battle fought in January 1849 during the second Anglo-Sikh war, in which the British were defeated.

See also ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB; GUJRAT.

CHITṬĀ BĀZ. Literally, this means the “white **hawk**” and is the name that **Sikh** tradition has given to one of the favorite hawks of **Guru Gobind Singh**. In popular Sikh artistic representations of the Tenth Master, the white hawk is often perched on his hand, an image which has given rise to the Guru’s epithet *chitṭiān bāzānvālā*, Master of the White Hawk.

CHUHRA. An Outcaste, normally from the sweeper **caste**.

See also DALIT; RANGHRETA.

CLERGY. One commonly reads references to **Sikh** “clergy” or “priests.” These are mistakes. The Sikh faith does not recognize ordination, nor is anyone set apart for religious functions. Within the **Panth** all duties may be performed by any **Amrit-dhari Sikh** in good standing.

See also GRANTHĪ; SACRAMENT.

CONGRESS PARTY. The Congress Party of India. Prior to **Partition**, Sikhs, led by Master **Tara Singh**, supported Congress against the Muslim League. Since 1947, the **Akali Dal** has been generally in opposition, but many **Sikhs** support Congress and it has frequently been able to form ministries in the **Punjab**. Manmohan Singh, elected prime minister of India in 2004, belongs to Congress. He is a Kohli, a **Khatri got** originally from **Pothohar**. He does not, however, advertise this fact.

CONTRACEPTION. There is no ruling or convention for Sikhs concerning contraception. Individuals should form their own attitude on the basis of the rules of morality that they accept. In practice, this means that there is little objection to it.

CONVERSION. Conversion is a far trickier prospect within the **Sikh** tradition than it should be since it involves issues that go well beyond those of one's newly found religious commitment and the spiritual rebirth as assumed by those of a Western Christian background. Conversion in **Sikhism** is inextricably (and obviously) linked with the idea of **Sikh identity**. It is generally presumed, for example, that there is only one variety of Sikh tradition to which a non-Sikh would convert. This is that of the **Khalsa**, specifically the **Amrit-dhari** Khalsa Sikh, a point that is very much stressed in the specific wording of the normative **Sikh Rahit Marayada**'s section dealing with *amrit sanskār*, or the ceremony of Khalsa initiation. If one wishes to become a **Sahaj-dhari Sikh**, one will soon discover that no set precedent or rituals for such conversion exists, although one could theoretically find some Sikh **Sant** or highly revered teacher and have him (or her) administer **charan-amrit**, or footwash, to him- or herself, an initiatory ritual that is performed in those varieties of Sikhism in which a living guru is the norm, such as the Namdhari or Nirankari Sikh traditions. (Technically, the Guru Granth Sahib could fulfil this function, but at no time have Sikhs availed themselves of this possibility.)

It is perhaps because of the need for a central human figure who would likely be understood as a guru, tacitly or directly, that such conversion to the **Sahaj-dhari** varieties of Sikhism are not generally acknowledged or broadcast, particularly since the normative tradition, shaped in large part by the **Singh Sabha**, only acknowledges the Guru Granth Sahib as the **Guru** of all Sikhs. Conversion to the Khalsa Sikh tradition is relatively straightforward and the rituals leading to such may be discovered within the **Sikh Rahit Marayada**, which carefully delineates the procedure: after one's commitment has been determined, one approaches the six required Khalsa Sikhs (the **Panj Piare** plus one Khalsa Sikh who attends to the **Guru Granth Sahib**, thus evoking the twin doctrine of **Guru Granth** and **Guru Panth**) dressed in

the **Five Ks**, makes a few declarations, and is administered the nectar of the two-edged sword. This is more or less the same procedure that is followed for those people born within Sikh families who choose to become Amritdhari. Furthermore, all of these standards are also applied to those non-Sikhs married to Sikh men or women, who express a wish to become Sikhs. Although a clear statement in the Sikh Rahit Marayada's chapter on marriage, or *anand sanskār*, claims that "a Sikh's daughter should marry a Sikh [man] (*sikkh dī puttrī dā viāh sikkh nāl hī hovai*)," this advice is not always followed by Sikhs living within the Sikh Diaspora.

See also AMRIT SANSKĀR PROCEDURE.

CREATION. The entire universe was, according to the **Adi Granth**, created by **Akal Purakh** through the exercise of the **hukam**. Beyond that, humanity does not know why the world was created or what its ending must be.

CRORE. Ten million. One hundred times a **lakh**.

CUNNINGHAM, JOSEPH (1812–1851). He wrote *A History of the Sikhs* (1849) based on actual observation and gives a sympathetic account of the **Sikhs**. Cunningham was at the time in the political service of the British and had witnessed the first of the Anglo-Sikh wars. His book displeased his superiors, and he was returned to regimental duties. The book remains a classic.

CUSHION CONTROVERSY. The *gadelā* (cushion) question created a deep rift between **Sanatan Sikhs** and the **Tat Khalsa** in the 1880s. The Sanatan Sikhs said that descendants of the **Gurus** had the right to sit on cushions before the **Guru Granth Sahib**, whereas the Tat Khalsa maintained that the egalitarian principles of the **Sikh** faith forbade it. The issue centered on **Khem Singh Bedi**, a descendant of **Guru Nanak** and an important Sanatan leader, who insisted on using a cushion. As with all issues, the Tat Khalsa won, but the victory was not complete. The deference shown by ordinary people to persons of acknowledged spiritual stature was too deeply held to be rooted out, and the extreme respect shown to **Sants** still continues today.

See also GURU-VANS.

D

DABISTĀN-I-MAZĀHIB. A Persian work about the religions of India by an unknown Zoroastrian visitor from Persia, previously attributed to Mohsin Fani and, afterward, to one Maubad Zulfiqar Ardastani. The author was personally known to both **Guru Hargobind** and **Guru Har Rai**, and claims that the Sixth Master was actually for a time in the service of the emperor **Jahangir** (that he was literally, “attached to the stirrup” of the emperor). This work, completed in 1645, includes an important chapter on the **Nanakpanthis** (the Sikhs).

DADU DIAL (1544–1603). A well-known **Hindu** saint of Indo-Islamic India whose life story follows a trajectory quite similar to that of **Kabir**. Over time he attracted a considerable number of disciples who were subsequently called the Dadu Panth. Dadu figures in two traditions regarding **Guru Gobind Singh**. The first of these notes that the Guru once saluted the shrine of Dadu in order to test his **Khalsa**’s commitment to obviate the veneration of shrines (a story which has competing narratives). The second notes that the Tenth Master justified the use of the **sword** to a Dadu Panthi named Jait Ram by referencing the famous 22nd couplet of the **Zafar-nama**, an anecdote found in the *Gurū kīān Sākhīān*.

ḌAKHANE. The title of a series of *shaloks* by **Guru Arjan** that appear in *rāg mārū*. The title is derived from the style of song verse, which is of a southern (*ḍakhṇe*) variety. The predominant emphasis in the Guru’s *ḍakhṇe* is one’s longing for the divine.

DAKKAHNI SIKHS. This term designates those **Sikhs** of southern India who are descended from Punjabi Sikhs who went south either with **Guru Gobind Singh** in the early 1700s or made their way in the late 1700s. Many settled in Hyderabad and took up service with the Nizam, becoming a part of his *Jamī‘at-i Sikhān*, or Sikh force, which was established in 1810. Today Dakkanai Sikhs generally practice a variety of Sikhism that is especially

distinguished at **Hazur Sahib gurdwara** in **Nander**, commemorating the death of the Tenth Guru in 1708, a variety conspicuous in its veneration of weapons.

DALHOUSIE, JAMES (1812–1860). The principal architect behind the last Anglo-Sikh war in 1848–1849.

DALIP SINGH (1837–1893). The youngest of Maharaja **Ranjit Singh**'s seven children. He was placed on the throne when his half brother **Sher Singh** was assassinated in 1843 but deposed by the British when they annexed the **Punjab** in 1849. Placed in the care of an English couple, he became a Christian and was taken to England, where he became a favorite of Queen Victoria. He received the estate of Elveden in Norfolk but found his expenses outrunning his capacity to pay, with little assistance forthcoming from his English patrons. In the Punjab, the **Kukas** were astir with rumors of his return, and in this regard were greatly encouraged by **Thakur Singh Sandhanvalia**. Thakur Singh corresponded with him, and in 1866 he set out for India. But the British intercepted him in Aden and sent him back to England. In Aden he underwent formal reconversion to the **Sikh** faith. In 1893 he died in a hotel room in Paris and was buried in Elveden. His grave now serves as a shrine for the Sikhs in England. His name is correctly spelled Dalip Singh, though Duleep Singh and Dhuleep Singh are commonly used by English writers.

See also UNITED KINGDOM SIKHS.

DALIT. From *dalṇā*, to throw down. Dalit is the name preferred today by an increasing number of Outcastes. Whereas other terms (Untouchables, Harijans, Scheduled Castes, etc.) have been given by **caste Hindus**, they themselves have chosen Dalit (Oppressed). **Mazhabis** and **Ramdasiyas** are **Sikh** Dalits.

DAL KHĀLSĀ. (1) During the 18th century the fighting **Khalsa** was divided into **jathas**, most of which later formed **misls**. Sometimes they agreed to form a group of misls for a particular purpose (such as a campaign against the Afghan invader), and as such would constitute the **Dal Khalsa**, or army of the Khalsa. **Jassa Singh Ahluvalia** was recognized as its commander. (2) In 1978 a Dal Khalsa was formed to fight for **Khalistan**. The group briefly achieved prominence in 1981 at an education conference organized by the **Chief Khalsa Divan** at which Ganga Singh Dhillon of California advocated the formation of Khalistan. In this he was strongly supported by the Dal Khalsa. After the conference, however, the popularity of the Dal Khalsa rapidly declined.

See also BUDDHĀ DAL; TARUṆĀ DAL.

DALLA. The landowner of Talvandi Sabo (**Damdama Sahib**), who welcomed **Guru Gobind Singh** to his village in 1706 following the **Guru's** withdrawal from **Anandpur**. There is a very well-known story regarding Bhai Dalla that is often told. Dalla, as **Santokh Singh** claims in his *Sūraj Prakāsh*, was quite proud of his standing army and would often tell the **Guru** that were he to have participated in the second Battle of Anandpur and the Battle of **Chamkaur** that the ends might well have turned out differently. Once while Dalla was repeating this claim, the **Guru** was brought two guns. At that point **Guru Gobind Singh** asked Dalla to provide a few of his soldiers as targets to test out the accuracy of the guns. Dalla and his men were shocked by this request, at which none of his men presented themselves. The **Guru** then asked two Sikhs, a father and son, to perform this task. They came running toward the **Guru** with great enthusiasm, each trying to outdo the other in order to be the first target. The story continues that this act taught Dalla great humility and persuaded him to take amrit.

DALLEVALIA MISL. A **misl** of medium strength with territories in eastern **Doaba**.

DALSINGAR. One of the riding horses of **Guru Gobind Singh**, presented to him in **Anandpur** by Kapur Singh Bairarh.

DALVIDAR. **Guru Gobind Singh's** battle horse.

DAMDAMA. A small town 28 kilometers southeast of Bathinda in southern **Punjab**, also known as Damdama Sahib or as Talvandi Sabo. **Guru Gobind Singh** stayed in the town for more than nine months in 1706 following his withdrawal from **Anandpur**. In the early 18th century, it acquired a reputation for learning associated with the **Sikh** scriptures. For this reason Damdama is also known as *Gurū kī Kashi*, playing upon the sanctity associated with the city of Varanasi, or Kashi, a center of **Hindu** learning. In part because of this association with knowledge, it became the home of the **Damdami Tak-sal**. In 1966 the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee** raised it to the status of a **takhat**. Takhat Sri Damdama Sahib was built in the 1970s. The town contains several other **gurdwaras** and Sikh shrines.

DAMDAMĪ BĪR. According to tradition, there once existed a third recension of the **Adi Granth** in addition to the **Kartarpur** and **Banno** versions. This version, known as the Damdami Bir, is said to have been dictated from memory by **Guru Gobind Singh** during his period in **Damdama** in 1706,

adding to it the works of his father, **Guru Tegh Bahadur**. Afghan invaders are said to have carried off this version later in the century. This tradition is incorrect. In some unknown way an enlarged version, comprising the Kartarpur recension together with the works of Tegh Bahadur, had already been compiled in the late 17th century and had come to be regarded as standard. It is this enlarged version that today constitutes the *Adi Granth*. The tradition is, however, widely accepted, and printed copies of the *Adi Granth* are generally labeled *Sri Damdami Bir*.

See also ADI GRANTH VERSIONS; BANNO BĪR; KARTĀRPUR BĪR.

DAMDAMI TAKSAL. A “school” of fundamentalist **Sikh** theology that today exists as a formal organization or sect. According to tradition, **Guru Gobind Singh**, while staying at **Damdama** in southern Punjab, founded a school for studying the Sikh scriptures. One of its first students was **Dip Singh**, who subsequently converted the school into the Damdami Taksal (Mint of Damdama). Until the 20th century it was unimportant. Under Sant Sunder Singh (d. 1930), however, it attracted attention for its strictly traditionalist approach, and it achieved prominence under the militant leadership of **Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale** during the 1970s and early 1980s as a powerful fundamentalist force in Sikh politics. It continues, with diminished strength, to this day.

DAMODARI (1597–1631). The first of **Guru Hargobind**’s three wives, the mother of **Gurditta**, and the grandmother of **Dhir Mal** and **Har Rai**.

DĀN. Charity; a gift given to the poor. *Dān* is frequently enjoined in the **Adi Granth**. The word is also used for charity dispensed on specific occasions by a patron to members of various service castes who perform duties for him.

See also DASVANDH (DASAUNDH); NĀM DĀN ISHNĀN.

DANCE. *See* BHANĠRĀ; GIDDHĀ.

DARA SHIKOH (1615–1659). Dara was the eldest and best-loved son of the emperor **Shah Jahan**; he was destined to become the next **Mughal** emperor until the machinations of Shah Jahan’s third son, **Aurangzeb**, bore fruit. Dara was raised in true Mughal fashion, very well educated and cultured. His associations with holy men from both **Hindu** and Islamic backgrounds is very well known and figures prominently in Dara’s own literary investigations into the two traditions, especially his most famous work, *Majma‘-ul-Bahrain*, or the *Merging of the Two Oceans*, and in his Persian interpretation of the Upanishads, the *Sirr-i Akbar*, or the *Great Secret* (also *Akbar’s Secret*). Dara, too, was also known to the Seventh Sikh Guru, **Guru**

Har Rai, and may have formed a friendship with him. Tradition claims that Guru Har Rai's support of Dara may have played a role in souring Aurangzeb's appreciation of the Sikh tradition, ultimately leading the emperor to summon the Seventh Guru to Delhi.

DARBĀR. Royal court; a place where a **Guru** or an important **Sant** gives audience; a grand mansion; the executive government of a princely state. Although Sikhs sometimes reverentially refer to the **Adi Granth** as the **Darbar Sahib**, it is predominantly within **Nihang** Sikh tradition that *darbar* is so used, to preface those Sikh texts to which Nihangs allocate the status of scripture, and so the **Adi Guru Darbar** for the **Adi Granth**, **Dasam Guru Darbar** for the **Dasam Granth**, and the **Sarab Loh Guru Darbar** for the **Sarab Loh Granth**.

DARBARA SINGH, BABA (1814–1870). **Nirankari Sikh**, son of **Baba Dayal**, the founder of the **Nirankari** group, who played an important role in the preparation of a **Nirankari hukam-nama** that has all of the features of the promulgation of a specific **rahit**. Darbara Singh's particular contribution here, and one on which he focused throughout his life, is to **Anand** marriage.

DARBĀR SĀHIB. See **HARIMANDIR SAHIB (AMRITSAR)**.

DARGAH MALL, DIVAN (?–1695). Apparently Dargah Mall was a minister at the time of the Sixth Master, **Guru Hargobind**, and the great-grandfather of **Kesar Singh Chhibbar**. Tradition claims that he was with **Guru Har Rai** when the latter received a summons from **Aurangzeb** to appear in **Delhi**. As the popular story claims, Guru Har Rai sent his son **Ram Rai** in his place. Dargah Mall apparently accompanied Ram Rai and was the person who sent word to Guru Har Rai of Ram Rai's purposeful misinterpretation of a hymn from the **Adi Granth**, at which Guru Har Rai broke relations with his son. Dargah Mall would also later accompany **Guru Har Krishan** to Delhi and be given a robe of honor by the Ninth Sikh Guru, **Guru Tegh Bahadur**. He, too, apparently traveled with Guru Tegh Bahadur throughout eastern India.

DARSHAN. "Audience." Sight; [to be in] the presence of someone or something important; to meet someone or visit something. Darshan also incorporates into its semantic range the notion of blessing, and thus also connotes a notion of touch, a special, sanctified visual touch. As such, it is often understood to communicate the idea of communion.

DARSHANĪ DEORHĪ. The gateway to the causeway of **Harimandir Sahib**.

DARSHAN SINGH PHERUMAN (1885–1969). Successively a member of the **Akali Dal**, **Congress**, and the Swatantra Party. In 1969 he fasted to death as a protest against the failure to have **Chandigarh** and other Punjabi-speaking areas incorporated in the **Punjab**.

DAS GRANTHĪ. A small book containing a selection from the **Dasam Granth**. There is no prescribed content, but the selection usually includes (among other works) **Jap**, **Bachitar Natak**, **Akal Ustati**, and **Gian Prabodh**.

See also PAÑJ GRANTHĪ.

DASAM DUĀR. The “tenth door” of **Nath** physiological theory (in addition to the nine natural orifices of the human body); the portion of the skull corresponding to the fontanel through which the liberated spirit passes at the climax of the **hatha yoga** discipline. The **Sikh Gurus** use the term figuratively.

DASAM GRANTH. A second scripture recognized as canonical by the Sikhs, the primary scripture being the **Adi Granth**. Its place in the canon is, however, a source of perplexity. During the 18th century it was treated (together with the **Adi Granth**) as the incarnate **Guru**, but over the last century doubts have surrounded it and the question has been largely shelved. **Tat Khalsa** reformers encouraged these doubts, for much of the **Dasam Granth** conflicted with their vision of the **Sikh** faith. For two decades after the death of **Guru Gobind Singh**, the works that together constitute the **Dasam Granth** are believed to have been collected by **Mani Singh**. This would have been a difficult task, as many such works reputedly were lost in the evacuation of **Anandpur** in 1704. An independent collection was gathered by **Dip Singh** and a third collection by **Sukkha Singh** of **Patna**. The greater part of the three collections is the same, but there are differences. In 1885 a committee was set up by the **Sanatan Sikhs** of the **Amritsar Singh Sabha**, and in 1902 it published an authorized version. The name “**Dasam Granth**” was given to the collection when it was first printed in 1902. This title, *The Book of the Tenth* [Guru], evidently served to distinguish it from the **Adi** (Original) **Granth**. An alternative theory (much less likely) is that it means one-tenth of a longer collection. The length of the modern printed version is 1,428 pages, although there are also eight additional pages appended to the modern text.

that house the *asfoṭak kabbits*, or extracanonial odes, the final portion of which is comprised of four Persian couplets regarding the **Five Ks** and attributed to **Bhai Nand Lal Goya**, bringing the total number of pages to 1,436.

DASAM GRANTH AUTHORSHIP. Traditionally, the whole of the **Dasam Granth** is regarded as the work of **Guru Gobind Singh**. This view is rejected by most scholars, who accept that the collection may have come from Gobind Singh's entourage but believe that only a small part of it is actually by him. A third view holds that even this small part cannot be safely attributed to him, originating instead from the poets of his following. Although the specific origins are obscure, its association with Guru Gobind Singh seems beyond doubt. Among the works attributed to him are the **Jap**, an autobiographical work entitled **Bachitar Natak**, the **Akal Ustati**, and a defiant Persian letter, **Zafar-nama**, said to be by him and addressed to Emperor **Aurangzeb**. Although there are early manuscripts of the Dasam Granth in which the Zafar-nama does appear, it was only included within these some years afterward, which leads some scholars to assume that the last of these works was not a definitive part of the collection until the end of the 19th century.

DASAM GRANTH CONTENTS. The modern **Dasam Granth** contains some works that most scholars attribute to **Guru Gobind Singh**. These include the **Jap**, **Akal Ustati**, and **Bachitar Natak**. A large section, however, comprises a retelling of the Ram and Krishna legends and a lengthy series of diverting anecdotes, mainly tales of the ways of women (the **Tria Charitra**). Most of the collection is written in the **Braj** language, with little in **Punjabi** and some in Persian. The script, however, is **Gurmukhi**. Like many sacred scriptures throughout the world, there are certain works one discovers in early manuscripts of the Dasam Granth that have been excluded from the modern version for one reason or another. These include, among others, the *Ugradantī* and the *Srī Bhagautī Astotra*.

See also BENATĪ CHAUPAĪ; CHANḌĪ CHARITRA; CHANḌĪ KĪ VĀR; CHAUBĪS AUTĀR; GIĀN PRABODH; HIKĀYATS; PAKHYĀN CHARITRA; SHASTAR NĀM-MĀLĀ; TEN SAVAYYĀS ZAFAR-NĀMĀ/ZAFAR-NĀMAH.

DASAM GRANTH MANUSCRIPT ANANDPURĪ BĪR. This may be the oldest and perhaps, therefore, the very first manuscript copy of the **Dasam Granth**, dated to 1690s. Not all the contents are from this date, however. Certainly the **Zafar-nama** and **Hikayats**, written according to tradition in 1705 or 1706, were appended to the manuscript later as these lack the folio numbers we discover in the other sections of the text. As well, an examina-

tion of the manuscript shows that the **Pakhyān Charitr**’s famous “missing charitr,” number 325, is actually attributed to a common scribal error one discovers here, repeated throughout all of the other manuscripts of the Dasam Granth.

DASAM GRANTH MANUSCRIPT MANĪ SINGH VĀLĪ BĪR. (Also known as the Dasam Granth New Delhi Mani Singh Wali Bir.) Dated circa 1713, this particular manuscript appears to be the first to combine both the **Adi Granth** (the so-called **Banno** version of the text) and the **Dasam Granth**. As well, the **Zafar-nama** and an incomplete set of the **Hikayats** appear in both Perso-Arabic nastaliq script and **Gurmukhi**. About 30 such combined manuscripts are in existence today, and scholars claim that these conjoined recensions were used at **Sikh** centers of learning, or **taksals**.

DASAM GRANTH MANUSCRIPT PATNA BĪR. Dated 1698 and alleged to have been prepared by Bhai Sukkha Singh.

DAS GUR KATHĀ. A text prepared by one Kankan who was apparently a poet within the **Guru**’s **darbar**, one of the **Bavanja kavi**. The work deals with the events of the lives of the 10 Gurus and so its title, “The story of the ten Gurus”; it ends with the creation of the **Khalsa**.

DASHMESH (DASMESH). The “Tenth Lord,” **Guru Gobind Singh**.

DASHMESH REGIMENT. An extremist antigovernment **Sikh** organization that functioned for some years following the banning of the **All India Sikh Students’ Federation** in 1984. It claimed responsibility for several assassinations.

DAS SAVAYYE. *See* TEN SAVAYYĀS.

DASTĀR BANDANĀ. The **turban**-tying ceremony that may be performed when a boy is 13. In the presence of the **Guru Granth Sahib**, the boy’s father or a village elder ties on a first turban. The ceremony is also performed on the oldest son when his father dies.

DASTAR BUṄGĀ. “**Turban-fortress.**” A high conical turban particular to certain **Nihang Sikhs**.

DASTŪRULINSHĀ. “Rule of Epistles.” A guide to writing epistles, or *inshā*, properly that is attributed to Bhai **Nand Lal**, perhaps produced during the latter’s time as *munshī* in the court of **Multan** prior to his move to **Anandpur** in the early 1680s. The text itself is incomplete and does not elaborate **Sikh** doctrine at all.

DASU (1524–?). The elder of **Guru Angad**’s two sons. He refused to accept his father’s appointment of **Amar Das** as Third **Guru**, but tradition relates that he was soon reconciled.

DASVANDH (DASAUNDH). A tithe, the portion of one’s income that is given for community service. Gifts to a **gurdwara** are an example, frequently donated before the **Guru Granth Sahib** on entry and thence into the **Guru**’s **golak** (treasure chest). Its distinction from *dān* (charity) is not clear, some saying that *dān* is included in dasvandh and some saying it is separate.

DATU (1537–1628). **Guru Angad**’s younger son, who, according to tradition, remained unreconciled to his father’s successors until the time of **Guru Arjan**.

DAUDHAR DERA. This is a school in the village of Daudhar for the training of musicians; it was established in 1859 by one Sant Suddh Singh.

DAULAT KHAN LODI (?–1526). **Guru Nanak**, as a young man, worked in **Sultanpur** for a person called **Daulat Khan**. It seems likely that this was Daulat Khan Lodi, later governor of **Lahore** under Sultan **Sikandar Lodi**, whom **Babur** refers to as a “blockhead” in his memoirs, the *Bābur-nāmāh*.

DAYĀ. “Compassion.” This is an attribute of the divine that humans are meant to embody as noted within **Sikh** scripture.

DAYAL (1783–1855). Founder of the **Nirankari** sect. Baba Dayal was born in **Rawalpindi** into a family of **Sahaj-dhari Khatris**. During the later years of Maharaja **Ranjit Singh** and his successors, he preached that contemporary Sikhs had strayed from the path of *nām simaran* and instead had adopted **Hindu** practices.

DAYAL DAS (?–1675). An elder brother of **Mani Singh**, one of three **Sikhs** executed in **Delhi** with **Guru Tegh Bahadur**.

See also MATI DAS (?–1675); SATI DAS (?–1675).

DAYA SINGH (1661–1708). Daya Singh was one of the celebrated Sikh **Panj Piare**, and although all five of these Sikh men assume the same august status within the Panth, it seems apparent that Daya Singh is the most significant, with a **gurdwara** dedicated to his name in the city of **Aurangabad** in Maharashtra. The significance likely stems from the tradition that he was the first of the Cherished Five to volunteer his head to **Guru Gobind Singh**, and, moreover, that it was into his hands that the Tenth **Guru** entrusted his Persian letter, the **Zafar-nama**, for transport to the court of the emperor **Aurangzeb** in 1705. Later traditions have him accompanied by a second of the Panj Piare, Bhai **Dharam Singh**. Interestingly, Daya Singh accompanied the Guru to southern India and is said to have died in **Nander**, as did Guru Gobind Singh. Although today Daya Singh and the other members of the Panj Piare are remembered as loyal and dedicated Khalsa Sikhs of the Tenth Guru, in the 18th and 19th centuries four of the five were also understood to be incarnations of past Hindu saints or demigods.

DAYA SINGH RAHIT-NĀMĀ. **Daya Singh** was the first **Sikh** to offer his head to **Guru Gobind Singh** at the inauguration of the **Khalsa** at the end of the 17th century, and a prose **rahit-nama** is attributed to him. The nature of its contents and language indicate a provenance at the very end of the 18th century or early in the 19th.

See also DAYA SINGH (1661–1708); RAHIT-NĀMĀ.

DEATH. To a loyal **Sikh** who has been punctilious in his observance of *nām simaran*, death is the enfolding of the human spirit in the Universal Spirit typically captured by such colloquial expressions as *joti jot samaunā* “to merge one’s light with the divine light.” A tiny number can achieve this while yet alive. Less observant Sikhs, however, can expect to be caught in the cycle of **transmigration**. This view of death is confined to a small number of Sikhs. Others announce a death as the Sikh having “gone to his (or her) heavenly abode.”

DEATH CEREMONY. *See* FUNERAL.

DEGH TEGH FATEH. “Victory [by the grace of the **Guru**] to the supplier of wants and to the wielder of the **sword**,” a slogan of the 18th-century **Khalsa**. In the 18th century, the deg (or deg), “cooking vessel,” symbolized the *laṅgar*, which in turn symbolized the **grace** of the Guru to a casteless society. Tegh (or teg) meant “the sword” and fateh, “victory.”

DELHI. Sikh history has frequently involved Delhi. **Guru Har Krishan** died there; **Guru Tegh Bahadur** was executed there; two of **Guru Gobind Singh**'s widows remained there for several years; and during the late 18th century Sikh raids assailed the city. Several important **gurdwaras** are located in Delhi or its environs and are administered by the **Delhi Sikh Gurdwara Management Committee**, separate from the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee** in **Amritsar**. It is perhaps because of the dislocation forced upon a large number of Sikh families during the Partition of India in 1947 that Delhi became in many ways a Punjabi city, with many families ultimately making their way to the city after having left their homes in what became Pakistan. Indeed, the area in which many of these families settled, which was originally named Refugees Colony, was renamed Punjabi Bagh by India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. This is now a famous area in western Delhi that is today populated by many Sikhs and Punjabis who trace their residence in this area to this event. The 1984 anti-Sikh disturbances that followed the assassination of Prime Minister **Indira Gandhi** were largely centered on the twin cities of Delhi and New Delhi, and many Sikhs there were killed.

See also BANGLA SAHIB; RAKAB-GANJ GURDWARA; SIS GANJ.

DELHI SIKH GURDWARA MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE. The body set up by the Delhi Sikh Gurdwaras Act of 1971 to manage **gurdwaras** and gurdwara property within the union territory of **Delhi**. The legislation was modeled on the 1925 **Sikh Gurdwaras Act**, and the committee it authorized is similar to the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee**. One difference is that only **Amrit-dharis** and **Kes-dharis** are entitled to vote for the Delhi Committee, not **Sahaj-dharis**.

DERĀ (DEHRĀ). Encampment. The dwelling place of a **Sant**. These deras wield a tremendous influence within the **Panth**, particularly within rural **Punjab**, that rarely figures in academic work on the Sikh tradition. From the beginning of the 21st century, deras have become far more controversial and have also begun to wield political influence.

DERA BABA NANAK. A small town previously called Pakhoke, located in Gurdaspur District on the left bank of the Ravi. It is immediately across the river from **Nanak**'s village of **Kartarpur**, and much of the land belongs to his **Bedi** descendants. One of the **gurdwaras** has in its possession *cholā sāhib*, an old cotton cloak with Arabic inscriptions from the Qur'an on it. This is traditionally believed to have been worn by Nanak during his visit to Mecca and Medina. It is said that after having been held by his four succes-

sors, it passed to a descendant who kept it as a sacred relic. In 1895 attention was drawn to the *cholā* by Ghulam Ahmad, founder of the Ahmadiyah movement, as evidence that Nanak was really a Muslim.

DERA SAHIB (GURU ARJAN). The **gurdwara** in **Lahore** that marks the death of **Guru Arjan** at the hands of the **Mughals** in 1606.

See also MUGHAL RELATIONS.

DESA SINGH RAHIT-NĀMĀ. A verse **rahit-nama** that claims to record the words of **Guru Gobind Singh** but dates from at least the late 18th century.

DEVI WORSHIP. For the **Sikhs** of the 18th century, the goddess **Devi** clearly had a considerable fascination, and much modern **Singh Sabha** scholarship has gone into disproving a tenacious tradition that **Guru Gobind Singh**, prior to inaugurating the **Khalsa**, made a sacrifice to her on the slopes of Naina Devi. Tales contained in the **Dasam Granth** and other sources also bear witness to this fascination. The explanation may be related to the **Guru's** conviction that physical force was necessary to restore a moral society and that he had been chosen for this purpose. As God had chosen her, so now had he been chosen to restore the balance of society. **Devi** worship was practiced by many rural **Sikhs** and **Hindus** in the 18th and 19th centuries. She also appears under various other names (**Durga**, **Kali**, **Kalka**, etc.).

See also BHAGAUTĪ.

DHĀDĪ. An itinerant singer of Sikh ballads and narrator of the heroic **Sikh** tradition. Usually working in pairs, **dhadis** accompanied their songs or narration with *dhāds*, or **dholaks** (small handheld drums).

DHANI. The elder daughter of **Guru Amar Das**. Little is known about **Bibi Dhani**.

DHANNA (?1415–?). A **Jat** bhagat traditionally born in 1415 in Rajasthan and a disciple of Ramanand. Four works by **Dhanna** are recorded in the **Adi Granth**. According to certain 18th-century **Sikh** traditions, one of the **Panj Piare**, the **Jat Dharam Singh**, was an **avatar** of **Dhanna**.

DHANVĀ. “One who possesses a bow.” An epithet for **Guru Gobind Singh** in **Sikh literature**, though generally within **Hindu** mythology it can refer to either **Shiva** or the **Pandava**, **Arjuna**.

DHARAM-RAJ. Yam, the god of the dead, in his role of the divine arbiter of the fate of each individual.

DHARAM-SĀLĀ. The room or building that formed the center of the early **Panth**. It was used for worship, congregational assembly, discourse, the singing of devotional songs, or any other religious purpose. The term was evidently used throughout the period of the **Gurus**, but during the 18th and 19th centuries it gradually gave way to **gurduara** (anglicized as **gurdwara**), which was previously used only for locations associated with one of the **Gurus**. As the term “gurdwara” was expanded to include dharam-sala, the meaning of the latter word came to be attached to a hospice attached to a gurdwara for travelers or visitors. The custodian of the early dharam-sala was called a dharam-salia.

DHARAM SINGH (1666–1708). One of the **Panj Piare**. A **Jat Sikh** who, based on 18th-century Sikh manuscripts, was at least at this time considered to be an avatar of the Jat **Bhagat Dhanna**. Today, apart from being one of the Cherished Five, Dharam Singh is also remembered as having accompanied **Bhai Daya Singh** to southern India to deliver **Guru Gobind Singh’s Zafar-nama** to the emperor **Aurangzeb**. Also, Bhai Dharam Singh took part in the **Mughal** war of succession following the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, engaging antagonistic forces at the famous Battle of Jajau on 8 June 1707. In the later part of 1707, he followed the Tenth Guru to **Nander**, and he was with the **Guru** at the time of the Guru’s death in October 1708, shortly after which he himself died.

DHARAM-VĪR. “Warrior of righteousness.” This title can refer to a number of the Sikh **Gurus** or to Sikh martyrs.

DHARAM-YUDH. A “war in defense of righteousness.” Before having to resort to arms, every effort should be made to reach a settlement by peaceful means. Only when these fail is the **Panth** constrained to take up arms. Today a major campaign of the **Akali Dal** may be termed a *dharam-yudh*.

DHARAM YUDH MORCHĀ. The most famous modern **Akali** campaign, which began in August 1982. The campaign saw the collaboration between the forces of the president of the **Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee**, **Harchand Singh Longowal**, and **Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale**. The Dharam Yudh Morcha sought to finally force the Indian government to implement the reforms of the **Anandpur Sahib Resolution**.

DHARMA (DHARAM). A word with a wide range of meanings, none of which corresponds to an English translation. A common meaning is “the specific duties to be performed by any particular **caste**.” In modern Punjabi, *dharam* has been used as a translation for “religion.” This is not quite as inaccurate as first sight suggests. **Guru Nanak** lived and taught others to live a certain way of life, a way that involved in particular an emphasis on meditation of the *nām*, supplemented by concern for others. This can be termed his *dharam*, and the English translation is not so far from the mark as first appears.

DHIAN SINGH (1796–1843). The second of the three **Dogra** Rajput brothers who served under Maharaja **Ranjit Singh** as chief minister. He retained his power under Ranjit Singh’s successors, **Kharak Singh** and **Nau Nihal Singh**, and also under their successor **Sher Singh**, but was assassinated with him and his son in 1843.

DHIR MAL (1627–1677). Elder son of **Gurditta** and eldest grandson of **Guru Hargobind**. Gurditta predeceased Hargobind. Although by this time the line of **Gurus** was firmly fixed in Hargobind’s line, Dhir Mal was not considered suitable to be the Seventh Guru. With his **Sodhi** family he resided in **Kartarpur** (located in Jalandhar District), and in 1643 he received a revenue-free grant from the **Mughal** emperor **Shah Jahan**, who was evidently seeking to sow discord in the **Panth**. His loyalties were diverging markedly from his grandfather Hargobind, who was confined to **Kiratpur** in the **Shivalik Hills**. Allied to the Mughals, he proved a growing menace to the followers of the orthodox line of Gurus. Hargobind, before he died, chose as his successor Dhir Mal’s younger brother, **Har Rai**.

See also DHIR MAL’S OPPOSITION; GURU-VANS.

DHIR MAL’S OPPOSITION. **Dhir Mal** was already hostile to orthodox Sikhs under his grandfather **Guru Hargobind**, and this increased when he was passed over as Hargobind’s successor. He was able to detach an indeterminate number of Sikhs from the orthodox line, particularly in the area around **Kartarpur**. From his father or grandfather he had secured possession of what purports to be the original copy of the **Adi Granth** and used it to buttress his claims to the office of **Guru**. The manuscript still resides in Kartarpur. After the accession of **Tegh Bahadur** in 1664, his opposition contributed to Tegh Bahadur’s having to leave the plains and withdraw to the **Shivalik Hills**. His antagonism and that of his successor continued into the 18th century, and at the founding of the **Khalsa**, the **Dhirmalias** were included in the **Panj Mel**. Only in the second half of the 18th century was the

exclusion of the **Sodhi** family of Kartarpur lifted. The successor who won this reprieve was probably **Vadbhag Singh**, famous as a banisher of evil spirits, who initiated a cult that continues to the present day.

See also KARTĀRPUR BĪR.

DHOLAK. A small handheld drum with two strings and sounding leather at either end.

DHŪĀN. “Smoke.” Hearth; a place where fire is always kept burning. The controlling centers of certain ascetic orders in India were referred to as *dhūāns*, including several of the **Udasi** orders. There were four Udasi dhuanas, each controlling certain preaching areas. These were eastern India (with the main center at Nanakmata), western **Punjab** and Kashmir, **Malwa**, and **Doaba**.

See also AKHĀRĀ; BAKHSHĪSH.

DHULEEP SINGH. *See* DALIP SINGH (1837–1893).

DHUNĪ. “Tune.” In the Sikh scripture this term appears at the beginning of nine of twenty-two *vārs* under different *rāgas*. **Guru Arjan** recorded directions as to which tunes certain *vārs* were meant to be sung to (some scholars, however, claim these were **Guru Hargobind**’s directives), and so, by way of example, one finds the following on page 137 of the **Guru Granth Sahib**: *vār mājh kī thathā shalok mahalā 1; malak murīd tathā chandrahārā sohīā kī dhunī gāvaṇī*, that is “Var in [*rāg*] *mājh* with shaloks by Guru Nanak to be sung to the tune of ‘Malik Murid and Chandrahara Sohia.’”

See also MUSIC.

DHŪPIĀ. “Incense” or “one who burns incense.” Although such rituals are clearly frowned upon in the **Sikh** tradition, displays and activities to this effect are most certainly met with, under the understanding in some cases that such activities merely freshen the air within the gurdwaras. Many large gurdwaras, for example, especially the **Golden Temple**, or **Harimandir Sahib**, will have such incense burners present although, to be sure, any official can perform this function.

DHUR KĪ BĀNĪ. Original message; original text; revealed text. The phrase itself belongs to **Guru Arjan** and references the “Bani from the beyond.” Today, many Sikhs use this term to underscore the belief that the text of the **Guru Granth Sahib** was a unique revelation to the human Sikh Guru. Implied in such a claim is the belief that one cannot therefore subject the text of the **Guru Granth Sahib** to academic analysis.

DIAL DAS, BHAI (?–1675). According to strong **Sikh** traditions today enshrined within the Sikh **Ardas**, Dial Das was one of the companions of **Guru Tegh Bahadur** who was tortured to death (boiled in a cauldron, tradition notes) in front of the Guru in order that the Ninth Master would convert to Islam.

DIASPORA. *See* MIGRATION.

DILAWAR KHAN. The father of the khanzada noted in the **Bachitar Natak** who was sent to **Guru Gobind Singh** at **Anandpur** at the head of an imperial force in order to extract tribute from the Tenth Master.

DINA. The village in Faridkot district, along today's **Guru Gobind Singh Marg**, at which **Guru Gobind Singh** halted with a few of his disciples after having evacuated **Anandpur**. A **gurdwara** called Lohgarh Sahib has been erected commemorating the Guru's visit. Tradition claims that the gurdwara was originally on the site of the house of one Bhai Desu Tarkhan in the upper-story room, or *chubārā*, in which **Guru Gobind Singh** rested for three months and 13 days. Here the Guru wrote the **Zafar-nama**.

DINA NATH (1795–1857). Appointed Divan by **Ranjit Singh**, he survived the period of confusion that followed the maharaja's death, eventually emerging as a reluctant supporter of the British.

See also ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB.

DIP SINGH (1682–1757). A celebrated **Sikh** martyr, killed in battle by the Afghans. He is believed to have been initiated into the **Khalsa** by **Guru Gobind Singh** and to have assisted him in transcribing the scriptures during the period in **Damdama**. Tradition records that while there he also founded the **Damdami Taksal**. He fought for the Sikhs during the first half of the 18th century, latterly as a member of the **Shahid misl**. In retirement at Damdama, he was roused by the sacrilege done to **Harimandir Sahib** by the Afghans in 1757 and with a small army marched on **Amritsar**, vowing to cleanse the sacred **gurdwara** or die in the attempt. Several kilometers short of the city, his army was met by a much larger one, and in the ensuing battle his head was severed. At this point a divided tradition takes over. According to one version, he held his head in his hand and fought on to Amritsar, dying when he reached the city. A second claims that he hurled his head over the intervening distance, landing it in the precincts of Harmandir Sahib. A third combines the first two. With severed head, Dip Singh fought as far as Ram-

sar on the outskirts of Amritsar and then threw his head the remaining distance to Harimandir Sahib. A hexagonal stone set in the **parikarama** marks the spot where it is believed to have fallen.

DITT SINGH (1853–1901). Like many **Sikhs** of the late 19th century, Ditt Singh supported the **Arya Samaj** but renounced it in 1888 and turned to the **Singh Sabha**. He became an influential leader of the **Lahore** group and thus of the **Tat Khalsa**. As author, journalist, and preacher, he did much to formulate and popularize Tat Khalsa ideals, writing more than 40 books covering Sikh doctrine, history, martyrology, and social reform. He laid great stress on the difference between Sikhs and **Hindus**, endeavoring to persuade ordinary Sikhs to abandon folk religion in favor of what he regarded as pure **Sikhism**. Ditt Singh was a rare example of a **Mazhabi Sikh** who was an important leader of the Sikhs.

DĪVĀLĪ. Festival of Light, held on the day of the new moon in the month of Kattak (October–November). The occasion has long been celebrated by Hindus with the theme of material wealth. Accounts are closed for the year, houses are cleaned, sweets are distributed, and countless lights are lit at night. **Sikhs** impart a distinctive meaning to it by commemorating the release of **Guru Hargobind** from Gwalior, where he had been imprisoned by the **Mughal** emperor **Jahangir**. Celebrations center on **Harimandir Sahib**, which is illuminated for the occasion.

DĪVĀN. A royal court; a **Sikh** congregation; Sikh worship; a collection of Persian poems by **Nand Lal**. *See also* DĪVĀN-I GOYĀ.

DIVĀNĀ. A section of the **Minas** devoted to asceticism.

DĪVĀN-I GOYĀ. A collection of 61 ghazals, 19 *rubā' īyāt* (quatrains), and six *abyāt* (couplets, singular: *bait*) attributed to **Guru Gobind Singh**'s famous Persian poet **Bhai Nand Lal Goya**. There are certain collections which include 63 ghazals, but based on the pedestrian quality of the added two ghazals (usually numbers 62 and 63) and the fact that they violate the rules of Persian prosody, it is unlikely that these were prepared by as skilled a poet as Nand Lal.

In one very famous instance, Nand Lal's Persian ghazal provides a *javāb*, or "answer," to the dilemma one notes in the first ghazal of the famous *Dīvān* of Hafez of Shiraz. The general ideology of the *Dīvān-i Goyā* is commensurate with the one discovered in the **Adi Granth** with its emphasis upon the unity of the divine, humility in approaching the divine, and the need for unregenerate human beings to remember the divine name. One ghazal in

particular (number 33) has been taken as representing an actual occurrence during which Nand Lal and the Tenth Guru participated in the celebration of Holi.

See also LITERATURE.

DIVINATION. Divination has been widely practiced by the **Panth**, and various methods are still used, commonly involving the **Adi Granth**. During the late 19th century a number of works were written that isolated select verses from the **Adi Granth** that had an apparently curative capacity. Two such compendiums were *Saṅket Mochan* and *Shardha Purān*, the latter of which conveys the counsel of **Bhai Nand Lal** in such matters. Numerous other usages are recorded in **Sikh** history and tradition, with **Ranjit Singh** being a firm believer. It is difficult to draw a clear line between superstition (which met with **Tat Khalsa** disapproval) and faith, as, for example, with the practice of **hukam**.

See also ASTROLOGY.

DIVINE NAME. *See* NĀM.

DIVINE WORD. *See* SHABAD (SABAD).

DIVORCE. The contemporary **Rahit** frowns on divorce, but marriage breakdown is tacitly acknowledged and in such cases **Sikhs** are free to divorce. Sikhs have no personal code, and when divorce is sought in India it must be by the **Hindu** Code.

DOABA. The plains territory bounded by the Beas and Satluj Rivers, one of three areas into which central **Punjab** is divided. The inhabitants are known as Doabis.

See also MALWA; MANJHA (MAJH, MAJHA, MANJH).

DOGRA FAMILY. A family of Dogra Rajputs from Jammu who exercised substantial power under Maharaja **Ranjit Singh** and during the turbulent years immediately following his death in 1839. All were murdered except **Gulab Singh**. Although they bore the name **Singh**, the family was Hindu.

See also SANDHANVALIA FAMILY.

DOLĪ. A litter used for **women**. A bride used to leave home in one. Today she commonly leaves in an automobile, but departure with the groom is still described as “departure of the doli.”

DOWRY. There are varying views concerning dowries (*dāj*) in the **Panth**, and the issue is very complicated. **Sikh Rahit Marayada** opposes it, but the injunction (when obeyed) singles out only cash payments for condemnation. This allows expensive gifts in kind and consequently leaves the way open for a transfer of varying amounts of property at marriage from the bride's family to the groom's. In this way, it continues to underline that importance is attached to boys rather than girls. The **Namdharis** are explicit about banning all dowries, but their clear example is not always followed by orthodox **Sikhs**. During the period of **Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale**, dowries were forcibly abolished for all Sikhs. With his death, however, they have shown clear signs of returning. For Sikhs they continue to present a problem, and it is impossible to generalize the orthodox response.

See also ABORTION; GENDER.

DRIDHVRATĪ. "Firm in resolve." Generally in **Hindu** mythology an epithet of Bhishma of the Mahabharata. In Sikh **literature** it is a recurring term that describes **Guru Arjan**, **Guru Tegh Bahadur**, or **Guru Gobind Singh**.

DRUGS. According to the **Sikh Rahit Marayada**, intoxicants such as alcohol, tobacco, and illicit drugs are strictly forbidden. Drugs used medicinally, however, are not.

DUBIDHĀ. "The other." That which is not eternal; maya.

DUKH NIVARAN. **Patiala's** leading **gurdwara**, built in memory of a visit by **Guru Tegh Bahadur**.

DULEEP SINGH. *See* DALIP SINGH (1837–1893).

DUMALLĀ. "Twice-wrapped turban." A particular style of turban worn by Nihangs.

DURJAY. "Difficult to conquer." In Hindu mythology, the son of Dhritarashtra of the Mahabharata. In Sikh **literature**, however, an epithet sometimes used of **Guru Gobind Singh**.

DUSHT DAMAN. "The Destroyer of Enemies." According to tradition, the previous incarnation of **Guru Gobind Singh** during the period of the Sat Yuga, or Age of Truth, who came to the goddess's aid as she battled demons. It was as Dusht Daman, tradition continues, that the future Tenth Master meditated upon **Hemkunt Sahib**.

DYAL SINGH MAJITHIA (1849–1898). Founder of the *Tribune* newspaper today headquartered in the Punjabi city of Chandigarh and, although a **Sikh**, a member of the **Hindu** Brahma Samaj. His death roused controversy when the Punjab Supreme Court, in opposition to his widow's claims regarding his will, declared him to have been a Hindu.

E

EAST AFRICA SIKHS. During the latter part of the 19th century the British, impressed by the skill of the **Ramgarhia** Sikhs in laying railway tracks, took many of them to East Africa to work on the new railway system being built in Uganda. Subsequently, their descendants were compelled to leave Uganda by Idi Amin in 1972, and life in independent Kenya was also difficult for them. They were permitted to migrate to the **United Kingdom** and ever since have maintained an essentially separate organization with a network of Ramgarhia **gurdwaras** throughout the country.

See also MIGRATION.

EAST ASIAN SIKHS. Sikhs in East Asian countries were welcomed by the British as policemen, watchmen, and soldiers. In 1867 a contingent of Sikh police was introduced to Hong Kong and others soon followed, settling mainly in Chinese ports such as Shanghai, where Sikhs, or *Hóngtóu ā sǎn* (as they were known), were especially visible as traffic wardens and guards and figured prominently in Shanghai city life until the late 1940s. Sikh soldiers were brought to Malaya in 1873 to guard the Perak tin mines from the Chinese. At that time Singapore was a part of Malaya. In 1921 the population of Sikhs in Malaya exceeded 8,000. Ten years later the number passed the 15,000 mark and remained that way until independence in 1965. In 1980 the Sikh population of Malaysia was estimated at 32,685. In the early times of Sikh settlement, some former policemen and soldiers migrated on to **Australia** and **New Zealand**. Some also migrated to Fiji to work as sugarcane cutters, and others to Indonesia. The community in neighboring Thailand, however, was not one that, for the most part, migrated from Malaya. A majority of the Sikhs living there are said to be **Namdhari** goldsmiths from **Pothohar**.

See also BUKIT BROWN; MIGRATION.

EDEN, EMILY (1797–1869). Sister of George Eden, the First Earl of Auckland, who was the governor-general of India from 1835 to 1842. Emily Eden and her sister Fanny traveled to India and were in the entourage of her

brother as he journeyed to the Lahore **Darbar** to meet with **Maharaja Ranjit Singh**. Her most famous work is comprised of her many letters written during her period in India published as *Up the Country: Letters Written to Her Sister from the Upper Provinces of India*. In this she supplies a number of lovingly crafted images of the Sikh **sardars** and in particular one of **Ranjit Singh**. The book also includes a number of her drawings of characters from the Sikh kingdom, including a famous one of the maharaja, a copy of which is kept at the **Golden Temple** Museum on the precincts of **Harimandir Sahib**.

See also LITERATURE.

EKĀDASĪ. The 11th day of the dark and light halves (waning and waxing moons) of the lunar fortnight. Although certain **Hindus** observe *ekādasī*, Sikhs attach little sanctity to the day. In his wonderfully typical manner, **Guru Nanak** focuses upon the “true” *ekādasī* that is observed by one who does not succumb to worldly temptation: *ekādasī iku ridai vasāvai; himsā mamtā mohu chukāvai*. “On the eleventh day lodge the One Lord in your heart [and in so doing] eliminate injury [to others], ego, and attachment” (*Bilāval* 12, **Adi Granth**, p. 840).

EK-OAṆKĀR. *See* IK-OAṆKĀR.

ELECTRIFICATION OF THE GOLDEN TEMPLE. Near the end of the 19th century the issue of electrifying the Golden Temple had exercised the minds and emotions of many Sikh intellectuals and reformers. The pro-electrification position was championed by the **Amritsar Singh Sabha** and **Sundar Singh Majithia**, while opposition to the scheme was supported by the granthis of **Harimandir Sahib** in conjunction with the **Lahore Singh Sabha**. Ultimately, the Amritsar Singh Sabha succeeded and the **Golden Temple** was electrified.

EMINABAD. *See* SAIDPUR.

EQUALITY. One of the prime virtues of the **Sikh** faith, particularly of the **Khalsa**. As opposed to the emphasis on **caste** differences of traditional **Hindu** society, Sikhs maintain that within the **Panth** there is complete equality. Although most Sikhs continue to observe caste in terms of marriage arrangements, those who are true to the Khalsa ideal insist that this in no way obstructs their acceptance of equality. A few Sikhs draw other distinctions on the basis of caste, but on sacred ground (which means in the **gurdwaras**) the ideal is certainly maintained. Anyone can attend a gurdwara or a *laṅgar*, and

those who do must sit in status-free rows; *karāh prasād* and langar food are distributed indiscriminately; and all recipients of **Khalsa initiation** are required to drink from the same vessel.

ETHICS. Sikhs recognize a range of ethics. This is meant to be exhibited in the form of proscriptions of certain behaviors. In the **Sikh Rahit Marayada**, for example, there are four cardinal sins an **Amrit-dhari Sikh** must swear to refrain from: the cutting of one's hair, eating *kuṭṭha* meat, sexual intercourse with anyone other than one's spouse, and smoking. Other activities banned are indicated by the groups of five proscriptions, for example, the **five evil deeds** and the **five evil impulses**. There is also a range of practices to be embraced, two of which are underscored in the Guru's Persian epistle, the **Zafar-nama**: these include upholding oaths and telling the truth, and turning to arms only when all other methods have been tried.

EUROPEAN SIKHS. **Sikh migration** to Europe began in the early 1970s and increased in the 1990s, when immigration restrictions set by mainland European countries were eased. The largest concentration of Sikhs today in mainland Europe is in Italy and Greece. Recently, Sikh disputes within the Punjab surfaced in Austria when a visiting Sikh Sant of the Ravidassia community was shot in Vienna in 2009. In some cases the Sikh communities within these countries seek the intercession of the Indian government when issues regarding Sikh rights are raised. Perhaps the best example of this regards the **turban** ban in France.

EUTHANASIA. One may easily infer that euthanasia in any form is not embraced by Sikhs because life is a gift from **Akal Purakh** and as such the decision to end life must belong to Akal Purakh alone.

EVOLUTION, DARWINIAN. The issue of scientific evolution that began with the publication of Charles Darwin's seminal *Origin of the Species* in 1859, as opposed to the creation of the universe by an intelligent force, is not one in which Sikhs have invested any emotion. Generally, the entire universe is created by **Akal Purakh**, as the word *kartār*, or creator, that one discovers within the **Mul Mantar** makes clear. For Sikhs, the universe and the world were created by Akal Purakh and have been evolving ever since that originating event. Sikh doctrine claims that the universe has existed for billions of years. Moreover, Sikh doctrine also notes that this was not the first time that the divine has created the universe. He/she/it has evidently created the universe many times.

EXCOMMUNICATION. Since the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee** was constituted in 1925, it (or its president) has on occasion formally ejected from the **Panth** someone who is held to have seriously violated its religious or political interests. Such decisions are routed through the **Jathedar** of **Akal Takhat**. An offender is an unrepentant *tanakhāhīā*, and in English the action is called excommunication. An early example was **Teja Singh Bhasaur** of the **Panch Khalsa Divan**. Others include **G. B. Singh**, who published a book on the manuscripts of the **Adi Granth**, and Gurbakhsh Singh **Kala Afghana**. An individual who is excommunicated may be given an opportunity to confess errors and perform humiliating punishment. When this has been completed, the offender is readmitted to the Panth.

See also BLASPHEMY; TANAKHĀH.

F

FAIR. Fairs are invariably held at **festivals**, wherever the number of **Sikhs** justifies such celebration. Individual locations also have fairs because of some incident that occurred there, particularly those associated with the **Gurus**. Fairs follow a general pattern in the Punjab and surrounding states. Two days before the fair begins, an ***akhaṇḍ pāṭh*** is initiated, the **bhog** ceremony timed to take place on the day of the fair. A brass band heads a procession led by **Panj Piare** with drawn swords. ***Kīrtan*** takes place throughout the day, starting with **Asa di Var** in the early morning. Various functions follow, including rousing speeches, sports, and possibly fireworks displays.

FAIZULAPURIA MISL. *See* SINGHPURIA MISL.

FAMILY. As the **Sikh Gurus** themselves were family men, householders, or *grhastīs*, all Sikhs are encouraged to become married, have children, and enjoy family life. Liberation may be easily sought while enjoying family life and being socially involved, such ideas being easily inferred from hymns along the same lines as **Guru Nanak's** *Sūhī rāg* 8(1), **Adi Granth**, p. 730: “remain pure while living amidst the world’s impurities, this is the path of true yoga.”

FANE, SIR HENRY (1778–1840). The commander-in-chief of the British army in India who was present at the wedding of **Maharaja Ranjit Singh's** son, Nau Nihal Singh. The maharaja himself decorated Fane with the newly created medal, the Star of Punjab.

FAQĪR. “Poor man.” Muslim renunciant. The word is loosely used to designate a **Sufi** and also a non-Muslim renunciant.

FARID (1173–1266). A famous **Sufi** who lived in the **Punjab** and is buried in Pak Pattan, where his tomb is still the object of reverent devotion. **Hindus** and **Sikhs**, as well as Muslims, have been greatly attached to the compositions attributed to Shaikh Farid for the **Sant** spirit they incorporate. Four of

his **shabads** and 130 of his **shaloks** have been included in the **Adi Granth**. **Nanak** is said by the **janam-sakhis** to have discoursed with him. This is not possible, but it is quite credible that he met the incumbent **pir** in the line descending from Farid.

See also SANT TRADITION.

FARIDKOT. A town with its small surrounding area situated approximately 17 kilometers south of Ferozepore. Because it lay on the left bank of the Satluj, it was not absorbed by **Ranjit Singh** and instead became a princely state under British rule. After **Partition** it merged with other princely states to become the **Patiala** and Eastern Punjab States Union, or **PEPSU**.

FARĪDKOTĠ TĪKĀ. The **Faridkot** commentary on the **Adi Granth**. When **Trumpp** published his translation of a part of the **Adi Granth** in 1877, **Sikhs** found its introduction deeply insulting. In the same year Raja **Bikram Singh** of Faridkot commissioned Giani Badan Singh Sekhvan to produce an authoritative commentary. The task proved to be much more difficult than foreseen, but three volumes were finally published in 1905 and 1906, and later the fourth and final volume was produced. The collection was the first example of a published commentary, but the Faridkot Tika never attained authoritative status and was soon superseded by other exegetical works.

FARLĀ. “Flag.” The length of blue cloth that projects from the top of an **Akali-Nihang**’s turban to represent **Guru Gobind Singh**’s battle standard. Tradition claims that this is understood to be the form of Shiva, a *Shiv-swarūp*, as it symbolizes the descent of the Ganga, which in the well-known Indian story had used Shiva’s head to break her fall to earth.

FARRUKH-SIYAR (1683–1719). **Mughal** emperor from 1713 to 1719 succeeding the relatively incompetent emperor Jahandar Shah. Although Farrukh-Siyar is easily best known for granting the *farman* to the British East India Company, his dealings with the Sikhs are also well known. His policy toward them was in many ways a continuation of that of **Bahadur Shah**, who pursued **Banda** until his own death in 1712. Farrukh-Siyar took Banda’s Punjabi disturbances very seriously and sent some of his best soldiers to deal with the Sikhs, including **Abdus Samad Khan**. Many of the horrifying stories about the treatment meted out to captured Sikhs in popular Sikh histories take place during this tumultuous period. Ultimately, Farrukh-Siyar’s very capable generals captured Banda at **Gurdas-Nangal** in 1715 and had him, and a large number of his followers, executed in 1716, an event

which is documented in both Persian and English sources. Farrukh-Siyar himself would sit on the throne for another three years, falling to an assassin who was hired by the Sayyid brothers in 1719.

FATEH. “Victory.” Often a short form for the phrase *Vahigurū jī kī Khālsā, Vahigurū jī kī Fateh*. At the beginning of letters or poems written by Sikhs, one comes across the term *fateh* written at the commencement.

FATEH DARSHAN. “Victory to the Sight [of god],” “Victory to the Lord’s Presence.” The phrase often attributed to **Banda** that was to replace the expression *Vahigurū jī kī Fateh*. Tradition claims that it was in part this innovation that had led to a rupture between Banda and his Bandai Sikhs and the **Tat Khalsa** at the suggestion of **Guru Gobind Singh**’s widow **Mata Sundari**.

See also SACCHE SĀHIB KĪ FATEH.

FATEHGARH SAHIB. Fatehgarh Sahib, near Sirhind, is the village where Zoravar Singh and Fateh Singh, the two younger sons of **Guru Gobind Singh**, were bricked up alive by Nawab **Vazir Khan**. The spot is marked by a large and impressive **gurdwara**. A neighboring gurdwara has been erected in memory of **Gujari**, the mother of Guru Gobind Singh, who died there on hearing the news of her grandsons’ fate.

See also SĀHIB-ZĀDE.

FATEH-NĀMĀ/FATH-NĀMAH. The “triumphant letter.” There is a great deal of uncertainty associated with this Persian letter in verse attributed to **Guru Gobind Singh**, which is said to have been dispatched from the villages of Lamman-Jatpura shortly after the evacuation of **Anandpur** in December 1704 and addressed to the **Mughal** emperor **Aurangzeb**. Certain **Sikh** traditions claim that the Fateh-nama was the first letter that reached Aurangzeb and that it was the emperor’s response to this first letter which prompted the Tenth Guru’s writing of the **Zafar-nama**. Part of the reason for such uncertainty regards the aggressive tone of the letter, which runs counter to the moods we discover within all of the other works attributed to Guru Gobind Singh, especially his Zafar-nama. The extant letter today contains 23 full couplets and a final hemistich, although tradition claims that originally it was composed of 100 couplets. It was, tradition continues, later followed by the Zafar-nama, which shares the same Persian meter as the Fateh-nama.

FATEH SHAH. The raja of Garhwal against whom **Gobind Singh**, in alliance with the raja of Sirmur and a group of other **pahari rajas**, fought the Battle of **Bhangani** in 1688.

FATEH SINGH, SAHIBZADA (1699–1705). The youngest son of **Guru Gobind Singh** who was born to Mata Jito ji at Anandpur. He was killed along with his older brother at Sirhind under the order of Vazir Khan.

FATEH SINGH, SANT (1911–1972). A **Jat** from Ganganagar District who was brought into the **Akali Dal** by **Tara Singh**. In 1960 he organized a massive campaign for **Punjabi Suba** against the Punjab government and in 1961 took the disgraced **Tara Singh**'s place as leader of the **Akalis**. Punjabi Suba was eventually granted in 1966.

FATŪHĀT NĀMAH-'I SAMADĪ. "The Book of the Victories of the Leaders" written by one Ghulam Muhiuddin (perhaps in 1722), who took part in the siege of **Gurdas-Nangal**. *Fatūhāt Nāmah-'i Samadī* is a Persian manuscript in London, portions of which recount the victories of **Abdus Samad Khan**. One of these included the capture of **Banda** at **Gurdas-Nangal**.

FAUJA SINGH. The world's oldest marathoner in 2013, who holds the world record for the 90-plus age group at five hours and 40 minutes, set at the 2003 Toronto Waterfront Marathon.

FEMALE INFANTICIDE. Practiced among certain sections of the Sikhs prior to its suppression by the British in the late 19th century. Explicit directions prohibiting it have been commonly written into the **rahit-namas**, including **Sikh Rahit Marayada**. Boys were much preferred to girls, with the result that midwives were sometimes instructed to kill the newborn if it was female. This was done by turning the baby's face into the placenta so that she suffocated in her mother's blood. Other methods were strangulation, feeding drops of *akk dā dūdh* (calotropis procera) mixed with *gur* (raw sugar), or burying alive. Among **Sikhs** the practice was particularly prevalent with the **Bedis**, a result of their high social and ritual status. It was essential to marry daughters to a higher subcaste (*got*), but because they occupied the highest rank of their section of the *zāt*, the Bedis had nowhere to go. Often they preferred infanticide as the solution. The custom was practiced throughout India as a whole, not just among Sikhs. There is little sound evidence for its continuation today.

See also ABORTION; CASTE; GENDER.

FEMINISM. *See* GENDER; PATRIARCHY.

FESTIVALS. Sikhs celebrate eight major festivals plus others of lesser importance. The eight major festivals are the birth (according to tradition) of **Guru Nanak**, the martyrdom of **Guru Arjan**, the martyrdom of **Guru Tegh**

Bahadur, the birth of **Guru Gobind Singh**, the installation of the **Guru Granth Sahib**, **Baisakhi**, **Divali**, and **Hola Mahalla**. Other lesser festivals include **Basant** and **Lohri**. At Divali, Sikhs celebrate the release of **Guru Hargobind** from imprisonment by the Mughal emperor **Jahangir** in Gwali-or, not the **Hindu** Festival of Light. The **Guru** is known as **Bandi Chhor** (Releaser of the Prisoners) in commemoration of the tradition that 52 princes were also released with him by clinging to a lengthy garment that he had fashioned.

See also GURPURAB.

FIVE. In common with other traditions in India and beyond, the number five (*pañch* or *pañj*) was of particular significance for the Sikhs. At the inauguration of the **Khalsa**, **Guru Gobind Singh** chose five **Sikhs** to form the foundation of the new order; today members of the **Khalsa** must wear the **Five Ks**. Many other important items are grouped in fives. For more information, refer to entries beginning with **FIVE** and **PANJ**.

FIVE ABLUTIONS. Washing of hands, feet, and mouth preceding *nām simaran* or entry into a **gurdwara**.

FIVE EVIL DEEDS. Lying, calumny, evil gossip, misappropriation, and ingratitude.

FIVE EVIL IMPULSES. Lust, anger, covetousness, attachment to worldly things, and pride. Also known as the *pañj dūt*.

FIVE Ks. The *pañj kakār* or *pañj kakke*, **five** external symbols that all **Amrit-dhari** Sikhs must wear, so called because each begins with *k*. The five are *kes* or *kes*h (uncut hair), *kaṅghā* (comb), *kaṛā* (iron bangle), *kirpān* (sword or dagger), and *kachh* or *kachhahirā* (shorts that must not come below the knee). The time when these five symbols were introduced is obscure. Tradition insists that it was at the inauguration of the **Khalsa**. At the inauguration, however, only three of the items were named (*kes*, *kirpan*, and *kachh*). Although there are early references to “five weapons” that the **Khalsa Sikh** is expected to bear, the *pañj kakke* are not mentioned at this stage. A reference in a later version of the **Chaupa Singh Rahit-nama** lists five items, but in addition to the original three, it names *bāñī* and *sādh saṅgat*. Only in the 19th century does definite mention of five items beginning with *k* occur, and only with the influence of the **Tat Khalsa** does the custom receive explicit inclusion in the *Rahit*. The one piece of evidence that seems to deny this is a **hukam-nama** that **Guru Gobind Singh** is said to have directed to his Kabul Sikhs in S.1756 (1699 C.E.). This *hukam-nama* must be regarded

as spurious, as it possesses neither the initials nor seal of the Guru and conflicts with other contemporary evidence clearly indicating only three items.

FIVE KS, PURPOSE. The purpose of the **Five Ks** is obscure, although reasons can be suggested for the earliest three. The kes may be a borrowing from the conventions of the **Jats**, who by this time were strongly dominant in the **Panth**, and the **kirpan** and **kachh** were appropriate for a people preparing to fight. The **kachh** may also fit snugly into the 18th-century Sikh antipathy toward those identified as Muslim, the oppressors of the **Khalsa**, as a type of anticircumcision. Their introduction into the **rahit-namas** seems not to have been linked to their initial *k*. At this early stage they rank with other conventions of the **Khalsa**, such as the ban on the **hookah**. Reasons for the choice of the Five Ks are, of course, frequently suggested in modern apologetics. Today they are absolutely mandatory for all **Amrit-dhari Sikhs**. The five (or some of them) are also commonly worn by **Kes-dhari Sikhs**.

FIVE LOVED ONES. See PAÑJ PIĀRE.

FIVE SINS. Theft, fornication, gambling, drunkenness, and lying.

FIVE WEAPONS. The early **Khalsa** was commanded to pay particular respect to the following five weapons and carry them when practicable: **sword** (*kirpān*), bow (*kamān*), musket (*bandūk*), a kind of dagger (*kaṭār*), and either lance (*nezā* or *barchhā*) or quoit (*chakkar*).

FOLKLORE. Throughout its history, the **Panth** has included a large segment believing in elements from popular **Punjabi** culture, for example, benign and malevolent spirits, omens, and miracles wrought by dead saints. The **Tat Khalsa** segment of the **Singh Sabha** movement regarded such beliefs as rank superstition. The **Sanatan Sikhs**, however, were much more tolerant of them. In the struggle between the two groups, the Tat Khalsa clearly emerged as victor, but the essentially intellectual view of the faith that they projected has not caused folk belief to die out. The Tat Khalsa view strongly dominates the presentation of **Sikhism** through literature. Folklore is, however, abundantly present in popular beliefs such as those mentioned above or in legends such as those of Hir Ranjha or Sohni Mahival.

FORSTER, GEORGE. In 1782 George Forster left Calcutta on an overland journey to England, passing through the **Punjab** in early 1783. There he observed the **Sikhs** closely and included a lengthy description of them in *A Journey from Bengal to England*, published in London in 1798.

FORTY SAVED ONES. *See* CHALĪ MUKTE.

FUNDAMENTALISM. The question of whether there are fundamentalists among the **Sikhs** causes problems, as the word actually has at least two different meanings: those who adhere to an inerrant view of scripture and those who are militants in a political sense. The latter meaning certainly applies to extremist supporters of **Khalistan**, though their number has been considerably diminished in the recent past. The inerrancy of scripture, however, is not an issue among Sikhs. There are few historical facts in the **Adi Granth**, and the multitude of hymns praising the *nām* do not present the kind of material that requires a listener or reader to decide whether it is factually right or wrong. The **Adi Granth** has much to say about truth, but the meaning that should be attached to the words translated as “truth” is distinctively different from what the term connotes in Western thought. The question of fundamentalism arose in a Western context with specific application to Judaism and Christianity. It does not arise in connection with Sikhism except as it has been popularized by the media.

See also SAT (ALSO SATI, SATYA, SACH, SACHA).

FUNERAL. Where possible, the deceased should be cremated. The corpse should be bathed and clad in clean garments. In the case of an **Amrit-dhari**, all **Five Ks** are essential. At the cremation ground the funeral pyre should be lit by a son, relative, or close friend. When it is ablaze, *Kīrtan Sohilā* should be sung, followed by a recitation of **Ardas**. After the cremation a *paṭh* should be commenced, preferably to be completed within 10 days. When the pyre has cooled, the ashes are gathered and either deposited in running water or buried at the place of cremation. Depositing the ashes in the Ganga, Satluj, or Ravi Rivers is not approved.

G

GADDĪ. “Cushion.” Seat; throne; position of authority.

GAJGAH. “Elephant-seizer.” A very tall steel totemic symbol worn on the turbans of certain accomplished **Akali-Nihangs**.

GAJJA SINGH, MAHANT (c. 1850–1914). A very accomplished Sikh musician; a virtuoso on the *tāūs*; a bow instrument with frets similar to those of the sitar.

See also MUSIC.

GAJPAT SINGH, RAJA (1738–1789). Founder of the state of Jind who had originally been in the **Khalsa Dal** of **Jassa Singh Ahluvalia**. As he continued to recognize the authority of the virtually impotent **Mughal** emperor and to pay tribute to **Delhi**, he was given the title “*raja*” by the Mughal emperor, Shah Alam II, in 1772.

GAMBLING. Gambling is prohibited by **Sikh Rahit Marayada**.

GANDA SINGH (1900–1987). Distinguished Sikh historian who was one of the first Sikhs to mine the depth of Persian sources dealing with Sikh history, producing two excellent anthologies of the Persian poetry of Bhai **Nand Lal Goya**, one in Persian with an Urdu introduction and the other in Punjabi, and reproducing early Persian accounts of the Sikhs in his *Ma’ākhiz-i Tavārīkh-i Sikhān jild avval: ‘Ahd-i Gurū Sāhibān*. His most famous work was his *Ahmad Shah Abdali*. Ganda Singh was a celebrated archivist, collecting and publishing the valuable *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs*. He was also founder of the journal *Panjab Past and Present*. The vast collection of manuscripts, books, and pamphlets owned by Ganda Singh is deposited at **Punjabi University** in the city of **Patiala**, Punjab.

GANGA (?–1628?). Mata **Ganga**, the wife of **Guru Arjan** and the mother of **Guru Hargobind**.

See also WIVES OF THE GURUS.

GANGA RAM. A grandson of **Guru Hargobind**, the Sixth Guru, who, in later life, was part of **Guru Gobind Singh**'s entourage at **Paonta Sahib**. He took part in the Battle of **Bhangani** (1688) along with his brothers. While he survived the battle, two of his brothers, **Sangram Shah** and **Jit Mall**, did not.

GANGU-SHAHI. Gangu Das is said to have been a **manji** of **Guru Amar Das**, preaching in the **Shivalik Hills**. His great-grandson Javahar Singh banded his followers together as the Gangu-shahis and for a time commanded a sizable force in the hills. Apparently the Gangu-shahis were not looked upon kindly by the **Khalsa**.

GANJ-NĀMAH. "The Treasure Book." One of the more popular works written by **Bhai Nand Lal Goya** and the only one that begins with an epigram from the **Adi Granth** (**Guru Arjan**'s *Jaitsārī dī vār* 19, *Adi Granth*, p. 710). The work is divided into 10 chapters of rhyming couplets, after the 10 **Sikh Gurus**, all of which begin with the word *sultanat*, or "kingdom," followed by the numerical designation of the respective Guru whose praise the chapter narrates; and so, for example, *sultanat avval*, "The First Kingdom," for **Guru Nanak**, and *sutanat daham*, "The Tenth Kingdom," for **Guru Gobind Singh**. The chapters are further divided into two portions. The first is a series of couplets, arranged according to the Persian letters that make up the name of the respective Guru, explaining the virtues of that Guru (this portion is poetic, not in prose, as certain descriptions of the text note). The second portion comprises further couplets describing the grandeur of the particular Guru in question. The lengthiest portion of the work regards **Guru Gobind Singh** in whose *darbar* **Nand Lal** was situated. This portion of the text is one of the only Persian compositions that is noted in the popular *Ammrit Kīrtan*, an early 20th-century text that describes which hymns may be sung on which days, particularly special Sikh festival days. Interestingly, this work, like all of Goya's works apart from the *Dīvān-i Goyā* and the *Zindagī-nāmah*, uses the sobriquet *La' l*, or "ruby," rather than the more famous *Goyā*, or "speaker."

See also LITERATURE.

GARAB GANJĀNĪ TĪKĀ. "The Pride-Destroying Commentary/Exegesis." A work of exegesis focusing on **Guru Nanak**'s celebrated composition, **Japji**, prepared by the **Nirmala** scholar **Santokh Singh** (who also authored *Sūraj Prakāsh*). The text was meant as a "corrective" to an earlier commentary on **Japji** prepared by the **Udasi** Sikh scholar **Anand Ghan**.

See also LITERATURE.

GARJA SINGH (?–1739). The **Ranghreta** companion of **Bota Singh**, killed by soldiers of **Zakarya Khan** in 1739.

GATHĀ. The title of one of **Guru Arjan**'s hymns, of 24 verses. The overarching theme of the Fifth Master's *Gathā* is the importance of praising the divine.

See also LITERATURE.

GATKĀ. The Sikh martial art practiced by two contestants, each with a leather shield and a stick four feet long. Gatka is particularly popular among the **Nihangs** and as an exercise at camps for schoolboys.

GAURĪ KĪ VĀR. The title of two compositions within the **Adi Granth**, one by **Guru Ram Das** and the second by his son, **Guru Arjan**.

See also LITERATURE.

G. B. SINGH (1877–1950). A Kapur by **caste**, he trained as an engineer and served as one throughout his working life. Late in life he was excommunicated from the **Panth** for his critical analysis of **Adi Granth** manuscripts and for denying that the **Gurmukhi** script was introduced by **Guru Angad**. It became virtually impossible to obtain a copy of his *Srī Gurū Sāhib dīān prāchīn bīrāṇ*.

See also EXCOMMUNICATION.

GENDER. The **Sikh** faith does not recognize differences in gender. **Women** have the same religious obligations as men and receive the same rewards. They are entitled to read the **Guru Granth Sahib** in public, to be members of the **Panj Piare**, and in general to discharge any of the roles that might be construed as male. **Sikhism** has, however, been located in a society that observes patriarchal control, with the result that in some important respects the operative observances of Sikhs differ from the normative prescriptions of their faith.

Very few Sikh women appear in Sikh history, and today most major Sikh institutions are overwhelmingly male in membership and control. This gender difference is defended on the grounds that only men can provide their women with necessary protection. Signs of change are appearing, particularly among Sikhs living overseas. There is, however, a considerable distance to travel before gender equality is attained. This applies in particular to rural Sikhs, where gender ranking is determined in large part by the ownership of property. **Jats** customarily leave land only to their sons.

See also ABORTION; DOWRY; FEMALE INFANTICIDE; PATRIARCHY; WIVES OF THE GURUS.

GENDER OF GOD. Punjabi and **Sant Bhasha** are more suitable languages for referring to **God** than English, though they are not perfect. They lack the explicitly male and female pronouns, but verb endings denote gender, and the agreement required by an adjective usually indicates the gender of the noun to which the adjective is attached. Similarly, the use of terms that can be translated as “Lord,” “Master,” and so on, frequently imply that God is thought to be masculine. Referring to him or her by masculine verbs, pronouns, or titles may demonstrate the weakness of any language that does not provide a common gender. It may also demonstrate patterns of dominance in the society that uses any particular language. Punjabi society certainly maintains concepts of male dominance, and references to God reflect this. **Sikhs** are, however, much better placed in this regard than (for example) Christians. In Christian usage God is traditionally masculine, and the English language renders this explicitly. In the Sant Bhasha of the **Adi Granth**, God is normally left undefined in gender terms, and in some places he or she (or the mystical **Guru**) is identified with conglomerates that include feminine as well as masculine identifiers. In **Japji** 5 the divine Guru is Shiva, Vishnu, and Brahma (who may arguably be regarded as masculine), but he or she is also Parvati (who is definitely feminine). **Akal Purakh** is, Sikhs maintain, far above all such distinctions, and the **Adi Granth** generally supports them.

GENDER OF GOD, TRANSLATIONS. The real difficulty concerning the gender of **God** occurs when the scripture is translated into a language such as English. Here the problem is inescapable, and partly because Christians until recently always regarded God as male, he or she has almost always been rendered as masculine in **Sikh** translations. One solution is to insist that the scripture never be translated. Portions may be translated as aids to understanding, but the **Adi Granth** itself must remain inviolable. Others insist that this must necessarily rob those who do not comprehend the original **Adi Granth** language of the deeper meaning that the scripture conveys. This particularly applies to people raised outside India, and it is inevitably in the West that the rumbles of discontent may be heard. The problem is serious.

GHADR MOVEMENT. A revolutionary movement, partly **Hindu** and Muslim in membership but mainly **Sikh**, which arose among immigrant laborers on the West Coast of the **United States** and **Canada** shortly before World War I. In 1913 a newspaper called *Ghadr* (Revolution) was founded in Stockton, California, and was soon circulating in many countries. Sympathies were with the Germans, and men volunteered to return to the **Punjab** to take up the cause. The Punjab, however, was scarcely ready for revolution, and by 1915 the movement there had collapsed. An effort to ship arms from

the United States similarly failed. The United States government tolerated the movement only as long as it was neutral in the war. When it entered the war in 1917, the Ghadr movement ceased.

GHAHNAIYA RAM (BHAI GHAHNAIYA). A servant of **Tegh Bahadur** and **Gobind Singh** who earned particular commendation from the latter for serving water during the Battle of **Anandpur** to the **Guru**'s wounded enemies as well as to those of his own troops. Followers of Bhai Ghahnaiya later formed the Seva Panth. His name is also spelled Ghanaiya, Kahnaiya, Kanhaiya, Kanaiya, or Kanahiya. Today among Sikhs Bhai Ghahnaiya is the inspiration behind the Sikh organization that takes his name and is the equivalent of the Red Cross.

GHALLŪGHĀRĀ. See **CHHOTĀ GHALLŪGHĀRĀ**; **VADDĀ GHALLŪGHĀRĀ**.

GHANI KHAN, NABI KHAN. Two Pathan Muslim brothers of Macchivara who were horse dealers. According to Sikh tradition, the two brothers had had dealings with **Guru Gobind Singh**, selling to him and his Sikhs a number of good horses. The tradition continues that when the Guru and his forces evacuated **Anandpur** with antagonistic forces in pursuit, both brothers sought the Guru out in the hope of aiding him. To help the Tenth Master avoid capture by the Mughals, they disguised him as *Uch kā pīr*, or the Master of Uch.

GHARU. Perhaps one of the most puzzling musical directions with the **Adi Granth**. *Gharu* literally means “house” and appears at the heading of a number of hymns within the scripture. At the beginning of *rāg mājh*, for example, one discovers: *rāgu mājh chaupade gharu 1 mahalā 4*: “Quatrains in Rag Majh [in the] First House [by] **Guru Ram Das**” (Adi Granth, p. 94). Scholars of Sikh musicology still engage in lively debate as to what the term actually means. One interpretation holds that *gharu* is indicative of a certain style of pitch, rhythm, and timing. Another, proposed by Inderjit N. Kaur, is that *ghar* numbers in each *rāg* refer to variations in the manner of singing that *rāg*, prevalent in various “houses” in the sense of tradition, heritage, or system (such as the “House of Nanak,” *Nānak kai ghar keval nāmu*, “Only the Name dwells within the House of Nanak.” **Guru Arjan**, *rāg bhairo*, Adi Granth, p. 1136), and are a dimension of the pluralism in the **Guru Granth Sahib**.

A major clue to this is her new finding that in the *Rāg gaurī* section in the **Guru Granth Sahib**, *ghar* numbers are not designated, instead *rāg*-variants (mostly regional) are used. Her second significant argument is that prevalent

terms like *tāl* (meter), *shrutī* (micro-pitch), and *swar/sur* (pitch) were not used in the hymn headings, and this indicates that *gharu* did not refer to these terms, as suggested by previous interpretations.

Inderjit Kaur's third important point is that in contrast to other postulated interpretations of *gharu* numbers, *rāg*-variants are operational in practice, and also provide a solution to disagreements among Sikh musicians over the “authentic” version of *rāgs* in the Guru Granth Sahib.

See also MUSIC.

GHORĪĀN. “Mares.” A set of hymns written by **Guru Ram Das** in *rāg vadāhans* that follow the type of lyrical Punjabi folk songs sung during marriage. In preparing their hymns, the **Sikh Gurus** often used to adapt conventional songs and tunes used in everyday life to mark significant occasions, such as marriage and death, to broadcast their message of attuning oneself to the *nām* and through the grace of the Eternal Guru securing liberation.

See also MUSIC.

GIĀNĪ. A wise or learned man; a university degree.

GIANI SCHOOL. The hereditary Gianis were those exegetes of the **Adi Granth** who did not follow the strongly Vedantic cast of **Nirmala** thought. According to tradition, some **Sikhs** were appointed to interpret the scripture by **Guru Gobind Singh**. It was in the 19th century, however, that certain families acquired reputations for teaching and interpretation, particularly in **Amritsar**. Their most influential pupil was **Santokh Singh**.

GIĀN PRABODH. A section of the **Dasam Granth** over two-thirds of which consists mainly of stories from the Mahabharata. In this second portion one finds a discussion between the soul and the supreme soul regarding how one should live one's life, with examples brought in from the Hindu epic.

GIAN SINGH (1883–1953). A very famous fresco painter, many of whose works grace the **Golden Temple** complex.

See also ART.

GIAN SINGH, GIANI (1822–1921). A **Nirmala** and disciple of **Tara Singh Narotam** who achieved considerable prominence as a traditional historian. Gian Singh combined **Singh Sabha** concerns with the **gur-bilas** tradition that preceded it. His *Panth Prakāsh* (1880) and his lengthy *Tavarīkh Gurū Khālsā* (1891–1919) are still extensively consulted.

GIDDHĀ. A Punjabi round dance performed by women or girls.

See also MUSIC.

GIRIDHAR LAL. A poet of **Guru Gobind Singh's Darbar** who prepared a text on Hindi prosody titled *Piṅgal Sār*.

GOBIND SINGH, GURU (1666–1708). Tenth and last personal **Guru** of the **Sikhs**. He was born in **Patna** as Gobind Rai, the only child of the Ninth Guru, **Tegh Bahadur**. At the age of five he was brought to his father's town, which became the foundation of the later city of **Anandpur**, situated on the northeastern edge of the **Punjab** where the **Shivalik Hills** meet the plains. There he was educated in Sanskrit and Persian, acquiring the arts of both poetry and warfare. In 1675 his father was executed in Delhi by the **Mughal** emperor **Aurangzeb**, an event that must have made a considerable impression on the child. He succeeded to the title of **Guru** and for several more years continued his education in the Shivalik Hills. It was as the ruler of a small Shivalik state that he grew to manhood and participated in wars against the other chieftains of the hills. Hunting was a sport in which he delighted.

Following the creation of the **Khalsa**, the Guru was again attacked in Anandpur, this time by the other Shivalik chieftains assisted by troops sent by the Mughal governor of Sirhind. In 1704 he was compelled to evacuate his fort, losing two of his sons in the process, with the remaining two cruelly executed later in Sirhind by being bricked up alive. **Gobind Singh** escaped to southern Punjab, where he inflicted a defeat on his pursuers at **Muktsar**. He then stayed in nearby **Damdama** and is said by tradition to have been occupied with the preparation of the final version of the **Adi Granth**. After the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb died in 1707, Gobind Singh agreed to accompany his successor, **Bahadur Shah**, to the south. There, in Nander on the banks of the Godavari River, he was assassinated in 1708, possibly by an agent of the Mughal administrator of Sirhind. Guru Gobind Singh ranks as the supreme exemplar of all that a Sikh of the Khalsa (a **Gursikh**) should be. His bravery is admired, his nobility esteemed, his goodness profoundly revered. The duty of every Khalsa member must be to strive to follow his path and in their lives perform works that would be worthy of him.

See also BHANGANI; DASAM GRANTH; DASHMESH (DASMESH); JAITA (trad. 1657–1704); KALGĪDHĀR; KHALSA INAUGURATION; MUGHAL; TRADITION.

GOBIND SINGH'S DOCTRINE. **Gobind Singh** regarded himself as the legitimate **Guru**, the only true successor of his nine predecessors; he accepted the emphasis on the divine **Name** that had descended from **Guru Nanak**. There was, however, a further development of his belief in **God**.

From time to time the forces of good and evil veer out of balance as the strength of the latter increases alarmingly. God then intervenes in human history to set the balance right. Particular individuals are chosen to act as agents of God, combating with physical strength the forces of evil that have acquired too much power. Gobind Singh believed that he was such an agent and that the **Panth** must be prepared to fight under him. Yet such fighting was not to be undertaken capriciously but only when all other means had been exhausted. Overcoming the dispersed nature of the Panth under the **masands** was evidently a reason for the creation of the **Khalsa**.

GOBIND SINGH'S FAMILY. **Guru Gobind Singh** had three wives. The first was **Jito**, who he married in 1677, mother of **Jujhar Singh**, **Zorawar Singh**, and **Fateh Singh**. The second was **Sundari**, who he married in 1684, mother of **Ajit Singh**. The third was **Sahib Devan**, who he married in 1700 without issue.

See also SĀHIB-ZĀDE.

GOBIND SINGH'S LITERARY COURT/DARBAR. According to tradition, **Guru Gobind Singh's** court was staffed with 52 poets from various regions throughout India, almost all of whom wrote in **Braj**, with two exceptions who wrote in Persian. It is quite clear, however, that their number was much greater and changed over time. It is highly likely that the **Mughal darbar** (and to a lesser extent those courts of the **Pahari** Rajputs close to **Anandpur**) provided the Guru with a tentative template of courtliness and of courtly activity and production, although to be sure the Guru's court differed from that of the Mughals and the Pahari rajas in many significant ways, perhaps the most significant of which had to do with manuscript production and **music**. It is interesting to note that current Sikh **gurdwara** procedures, particularly in regard to Sikh reverence in the presence (*hazūrī*) of the **Guru Granth Sahib**, has many affinities with the type of behavior and comportment described within the Indo-Timurid court of the Mughal emperors.

See also BAVĀÑJĀ KAVĪ; GURDWARA PROCEDURE; LITERATURE.

GOD. *See* AKĀL PURAKH; VĀHIGURŪ.

GOINDVAL. A town on the right bank of the Beas River near its confluence with the Satluj, by tradition named for a man called Gobind who had begun building it in honor of **Guru Angad**. Angad declined to live in the new village but sent his faithful disciple **Amar Das** to reside there. The town became Amar Das's center when he succeeded Angad as **Guru**. Today, apart

from its fame as a Sikh site of pilgrimage, Goindval is also one of the only places in the world at which worn copies of the Guru Granth Sahib can be cremated.

See ADI GRANTH BHOG.

GOINDVĀL POTHĪS. The earliest known recension of the **Adi Granth**. According to tradition, **Guru Amar Das** had the works of the first three **Gurus**, together with those of the **bhagats**, copied out by his grandson Sahans Ram in a series of three or (more likely) four **pothis** (volumes). A pothi, which purports to be an original one, was in the possession of the late Baba Dalip Chand of Mandi Darapur in Hoshiarpur District and is now held by his family in Jalandhar. Another, also claiming originality, was with the family of the late Bhagat Singh of **Patiala** and is now in Pinjore. Both families are **Bhallas**, the subcaste to which Guru Amar Das belonged. **Guru Arjan** evidently had access to the collection when preparing the later recension of the Adi Granth. The text of the **Kartarpur** version is very close to that of the Goindval Pothis, particularly the works of the three Gurus. The collection owes its name to **Goindval**, as it was compiled there. Because the manuscripts were subsequently held by Mohan, son of Amar Das, they are also commonly known as the **Mohan Pothis**.

See also GULAM SADASEVAK; GURU HAR SAHAI.

GOLAK or GURŪ KĪ GOLAK. The box or container in which money intended for charity is placed.

GOLDEN TEMPLE. *See* HARIMANDIR SAHIB (AMRITSAR).

GOLDEN TEMPLE ASSAULT. For several years prior to 1984, hostility had been growing between the government of India and the **Akali Dal**. The Akali claim centered on the **Anandpur Sahib Resolution** of 1973. This document asserted the right of the Akali Dal to represent the **Sikhs** and embodied several claims, some religious and some economic. The **Congress** Party (which controlled the central government) evidently sought to provoke disruption within the Akali Dal, promoting the interests of a young militant called **Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale** without him being aware of the fact. He soon proved himself much more radical than the leadership of the Akali Dal, insisting on a thoroughly **fundamentalist** approach. With his followers, he occupied the buildings around **Harimandir Sahib**, and threatened with further hostilities, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi decided to send in the army. The attack (**Operation Blue Star**) began on 5 June 1984. So determined was the resistance that it was not until the following day that Bhindranvale was killed and the opposition subdued. The army had largely managed to avoid

attacking Harimandir itself, but in other respects the damage was considerable. The Sikh Reference Library had been burned and **Akal Takhat** lay in ruins.

GORAKHNATH. A historical figure who lived in India, probably between the ninth and 12th centuries C.E. Virtually everything that is related about him is legend, but he must have been an important religious figure. Guru Gorakhnath is acknowledged as the principal figure in the **Nath** movement. He appears anachronistically in numerous **janam-sakhi** incidents as an interlocutor of **Nanak**.

GOSHṬĀN MIHARVĀN JĪ KĪĀN. “The Discourses of [Sodhi] Miharvan.” A text dealing with the life of Miharban, prepared by his son Sodhi Hariji. The text follows the format of the **janam-sakhis** although the emphasis is more on the discourses of Miharban and his exegesis of certain hymns in the **Adi Granth**.

GOSHṬĪ. “Debate” or “discourse.” The first discourse in the Sikh scripture is the famous *Siddh Goshṭ* of Guru Nanak in *rāmkalī rāg*, a **rāg** often used in yogic discourses.

GOT (GOTRĀ). Exogamous group within an endogamous **zat**; a subcaste.

GOUGH, SIR HUGH (1779–1869). Gough was the commander of the British armies who confronted the **Khalsa** army in the first and second Anglo-Sikh wars. He describes these in his account titled *The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars*.

GRACE. “Grace” is expressed by several terms, of which “nadar,” or “nazar,” is a key one. **Akal Purakh** imparts grace when his glance (nazar) falls on the beneficiary. Other terms meaning grace are *prasād*, *bakhashīsh*, *bhānā*, *daiā* (*dayā*), *kirpā* (*kripā*), *mihar*, and *taras*. Grace, according to **Nanak**, is essential for spiritual liberation to be secured. The practice of **nām simaran** is certainly necessary, and for this the choice rests with each person. Alone, however, it is not enough. Only by the grace of Akal Purakh through the mediation of the **Guru**, coupled with the freely chosen practice of *nām simaran*, can liberation be achieved.

See also NANAK, TEACHINGS.

GRAHAŚTĪ. A householder; a married person.

GRANTH. “Book.” The **Adi Granth** or **Guru Granth Sahib**.

GRANTH BHĀĪ PAINDĀ. An early collection of **sakhis** that probably dates from the mid-17th century.

See also POTHĪ BĪBĪ RŪP KAUR .

GRANTHĪ. The custodian of a **gurdwara** responsible for its religious services and for upkeep of the building. It is a mistake to call a granthi a “**priest**,” Sikhism being a lay faith. A granthi does not normally command high status in Sikh society.

GRANTH SRĪ GURMAT NIRŅAYA SĀGAR. An important work of Sikh ideology and philosophy written by one of the foremost **Nirmala** Sikh scholars of the 19th century, Pandit **Tara Singh Narotam**.

GREWAL, J. S. (1927–). Modern Sikh historian, author of several works, including *The Sikhs of the Punjab*.

GUGGA PIR. The legendary healer of snake bites, worshiped in the villages of the **Punjab** by Muslims, **Hindus**, and **Sikhs** alike.

GUJARI (?1621–1704). The wife of **Tegh Bahadur** and mother of **Gobind Singh**. She came from a **Khatiri** family of Lakhnaur (near Ambala). Attached to her four grandchildren, she died when she learned that Zoravar Singh and Fateh Singh had been bricked up. A **gurdwara** marks the spot where her death occurred in **Fategarh Sahib**.

See also SĀHIB-ZĀDE.

GUJARĪ KĪ VĀR. The name of two compositions in the **Adi Granth**, one by **Guru Amar Das**, the other by **Guru Arjan**.

GUJRAT. Today in Pakistan the town of Gujrat is associated with the travels of **Guru Hargobind**, who resided here for a while in 1620. The decisive battle of the second Anglo-Sikh war was also fought here in February 1849 and won by the British. The complete **annexation of the Punjab** followed.

See also CHILLIANWALA.

GULAB-DASI. A follower of Gulab Das (1809–1873), a hymnist who taught Vedantist ideals learned from the **Nirmalas**. Gulab Das did not believe in pilgrimage, religious ceremonies, or the veneration of holy men. The group enjoyed limited prominence in the late 19th century but appears to be extinct today. Both **Jawahir Singh Kapur** and Giani **Ditt Singh** had Gulab-dasi phases early in their careers.

GULAB-RAIA. A follower of **Gulab Rai**, great-grandson of **Guru Hargobind**. Gulab Rai accepted initiation into the **Khalsa** by **Guru Gobind Singh** but after Gobind Singh's death tried to set himself up as successor. His effort died out early in the 18th century.

GULAB SINGH. The eldest of the three **Dogra** Rajput brothers who served under Maharaja **Ranjit Singh**, gaining considerable power as ruler of Jammu. During the first Anglo-Sikh war he sided with the British, and after it was permitted to purchase Kashmir which, with Jammu, he and his descendants ruled as raja until **Partition**.

See also ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB; DOGRA FAMILY.

GULAM SADASEVAK. The identity of Gulam Sadasevak is disputed. The name appears in the **Goindval Pothis** as the author of seven compositions that were subsequently crossed out. One opinion holds that it was the youthful pseudonym of **Ram Das** before he became the Fourth **Guru**, excised when he assumed the title. The other opinion maintains that they were spurious compositions circulated by enemies of the orthodox line of Gurus during the time of **Amar Das** and they were crossed out when their identity became known.

GUNVANTĪ. "The talented woman." The name of one of **Guru Arjan's** compositions (**Adi Granth**, p. 763). The term is used to indicate one who manifests the true spirit of Sikh service.

GUPTA, HARI RAM (1902–1992). A Hindu historian whose works were generally accepted by the **Sikhs**. His most famous work was his seven-volume *History of the Sikhs*, five of which have been published.

GURAMAT PRAKĀSH BHĀG SANSKĀR. A **rahit-nama**, emphasizing **panthic** ritual, which was published by the **Chief Khalsa Divan**. The committee preparing it consisted of **Vir Singh**, **Jodh Singh**, **Takhat Singh**, **Trilochan Singh**, **Sant Gurbakhsh Singh**, and **Babu Teja Singh Bhasaur**, with **Sundar Singh Majithia**, secretary of the Chief Khalsa Divan. **Babu Teja Singh** did not participate in the committee's deliberations, regarding it as a **Tat Khalsa** enterprise. The first meeting was held in 1911, and the document was published in 1915. It proved to be too long and complex, and failed to win much support. The document did, however, succeed in reducing **Sikh** ceremonies to systematic order. *See also* SIKH RAHIT MARAYĀDĀ.

GURBACHAN SINGH BHINDRANVALE, SANT (1903–1969). A tireless preacher and exegete of Sikh sacred texts who not only oversaw the construction of **gurdwaras** throughout the **Punjab** but also provided *kathā*, or religious instruction, and homilies within numerous cities and towns.

GURBACHAN SINGH TALIB (1911–1986). Famous historian of the Sikh Panth who wrote prolifically in both Punjabi and English, translating the **Adi Granth** into English in a four-volume edition.

GURBAKHSI SINGH (?–1765). A martyr of the **Panth**, killed when he led a tiny force against a large army of **Ahmad Shah Abdali** that was desecrating **Harimandir Sahib**. A small shrine erected in his memory is situated behind the **Akal Takhat**.

GURBAKHSI SINGH “KALA AFGHANA”. *See* KALA AFGHANA.

GURBĀNĪ. Strictly speaking, *gur-bānī* refers only to the **Gurus’** works recorded in the **Adi Granth** and **Dasam Granth**. It can also apply, however, to the **bhagat bani**.

See also BĀNĪ.

GUR-BILĀS. Literally “the **Guru’s** pleasure.” A style of hagiography that focused attention on the heroic qualities of the Gurus (notably **Guru Hargobind** and **Guru Gobind Singh**). In contrast with the **janam-sakhis**, it stressed the destiny of the Gurus in fighting against the forces of evil (identified with **Mughal** authority) and their supreme courage in doing so. Most *gur-bilas* works attach great importance to the story of the goddess **Devi** as preparation for the founding of the **Khalsa**. Examples are Sohan’s *Srī Gur Bilās Pātshāhī* 6; Kuir Singh’s *Srī Gur Bilās Pātshāhī* 10; and Sukkha Singh’s similarly titled *Srī Gur Bilās Pātshāhī* 10, although there are a number of others. Some scholars hold that the Tenth Guru’s **Bachitar Natak** may well be an early form of *gur-bilas* literature.

See also DEVI WORSHIP; GOBIND SINGH’S DOCTRINE.

GURCHARAN SINGH TOHRA (1924–2004). President of the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee** for a record 27 years who headed the organization during the traumatic 1980s and 1990s. Tohra earned his spurs, as it were, during the **Punjabi Suba** agitations of the early 1960s.

GURDAS BHALLA (c. 1558–c. 1637). Bhai Gurdas is the most famous of all **Sikh** poets and theologians. Born in **Goindval**, he was a **Khatri** of the **Bhalla** subcaste and was related to **Guru Amar Das**. From his earliest days

he appears to have been closely associated with the line of orthodox **Gurus**, serving successively Amar Das, **Ram Das**, **Arjan**, and **Hargobind**. During these years he was a missionary, steward, and personal messenger, his main task in the latter respect being to conduct negotiations with **Prithi Chand**. He was also chosen to act as Arjan's amanuensis when preparing the **Adi Granth**. His puzzled acceptance of the change of atmosphere in the Guru's entourage is spelled out in a famous verse, the Fifth Guru, Arjan, having been a man of peace and the Sixth Guru, Hargobind, surrounding himself with the means of war (*vār* 26:24). The enduring contribution of Bhai **Gurdas** is his poetry. This comprises 556 brief works in **Braj** known as kabitts and the much more popular 40 *vārs* in **Punjabi**. It is upon the latter that his considerable reputation rests. *See also* LITERATURE; VĀRĀN BHĀĪ GURDĀS.

GURDAS II. There are actually 41 *vārs* attributed to Bhai **Gurdas**, and a few scholars regard them all as his work. The majority correctly treat the 40th *vār* as the work of a Sindhi poet of the same name who lived in the early 18th century.

See also VĀRĀN BHĀĪ GURDĀS.

GURDIT SINGH, BABA (1859–1954). While in Hong Kong, Gurdit Singh learned of the Canadian government's insistence on a "continuous journey" for all immigrants, whereby Indians were blocked from entry to **Canada**. This was because no vessel ever sailed directly from India to a Canadian port, and the owners of those sailing from East Asian ports were well aware that they were not to carry **Sikhs**. To overcome this condition, Gurdit Singh hired the Japanese steamer *Komagata Maru* and sailed from Hong Kong with 165 passengers (mainly Sikhs) on 23 May 1914. More passengers were picked up in Shanghai and Yokohama. The party was held up by Canadian authorities in Vancouver harbor and eventually was compelled to sail back to Calcutta. The passengers were immediately transferred to railway carriages and carried up to the **Punjab**. Gurdit Singh, however, evaded the police and went underground until his dramatic reappearance at **Nankana Sahib** in 1921. He was arrested but soon released.

GURDIT SINGH, GIANI (1923–2007). Distinguished Punjabi author and journalist whose most famous work is the 1961 novel *Merā Piṇḍ* (My Village).

See also LITERATURE.

GURDITTA (1613–1638). Oldest son of **Guru Hargobind**. He was groomed to succeed his father but predeceased him. Gurditta was apparently attracted to **Udasi** teachings.

GURDWARA. A place for **Sikh** worship and community gatherings. Any room or building is constituted a gurdwara by installation of the **Guru Granth Sahib** (the **Adi Granth**) in it. In the **Adi Granth**, the term *gurūduārā* refers to the **grace** of the **Guru**, understood as the “voice” of **Akal Purakh**. Places associated with the Gurus acquired particular sanctity and as such imparted a special blessing. In this way the single word *gurduara* (anglicized as “gurdwara”) came to apply to Sikh places of pilgrimage visited in the manner that one visited a *tīrath*. During this early period, the term used for an ordinary congregational center where a *saṅgat* met for such purposes as singing devotional songs was **dharam-sala**. Gradually, during the 18th and 19th centuries, **dharam-sala** was abandoned for this purpose and the meaning of *gurduara* extended to take its place. Two developments produced this change. The first was the attribution of the Guru’s authority to the **Adi Granth**. The second related development was the practice of installing copies of the scripture in **dharam-salas**. This meant that the means of grace and guidance was now located within the *saṅgat*’s place of assembly. The place of assembly, formerly a **dharam-sala**, thus became known as a gurdwara. The gurdwara is a powerful institution in the **Panth**, frequently providing Sikhs with a social center as well as a place of worship. This is particularly the case overseas.

See also ARCHITECTURE; GURDWARA CONTROL; GURDWARA PROCEDURE; GURDWARA REFORM MOVEMENT; GURDWARA REFORM MOVEMENT, ORIGINS.

GURDWARA CONTROL. Until the end of the 19th century the **gurdwara** served a broad section of the **Punjabi** community, being commonly controlled by non-**Khalsa Sikhs** and in some cases providing space for idols. Under the influence of the **Tat Khalsa** a campaign for cleansing them was initiated, leading to the **Gurdwara Reform Movement** and final victory in the **Sikh Gurdwaras Act of 1925**. Virtually all prominent gurdwaras in the Punjab were entrusted to the authority of the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee** (SGPC), and with substantial funds flowing in from their estates, control of the SGPC is strongly contested. Within the area covered by the Sikh Gurdwaras Act, the major gurdwaras are almost all controlled directly by the SGPC. Those of **Delhi** are under the **Delhi Sikh Gurdwara Management Committee**. Lesser gurdwaras within these areas are, however, independent, as are all gurdwaras elsewhere in India and the world. The organization of these gurdwaras is therefore strictly congregational and does not depend on control from above.

See also AKĀLĪ DAL.

GURDWARA PROCEDURE. In a **gurdwara**, worship is led by a reader and three **ragis**. Every person who visits a gurdwara must remove footwear, and feet should be washed if unclean. In some cases **leather** belts and handbags must also be removed. The head must be covered. On entering the gurdwara, he or she bows before the **Guru Granth Sahib**, touching the floor with the forehead. Upon rising he or she may greet the *saṅgat* collectively with palms together, saying “*Vahigurū jī kā Khālsā, Vahigurū jī kī fateh.*” He or she should then take a seat on the floor (ensuring that one’s feet are not pointing toward the Guru Granth Sahib) and listen to, or participate in, the singing of hymns. When walking around a gurdwara or the **Adi Granth**, each person should proceed in a clockwise direction.

See also PARKĀSH KARNĀ; SUKHĀSĀN.

GURDWARA REFORM MOVEMENT. An agitation lasting from 1920 until 1925 seeking control of the major **Sikh gurdwaras** by the **Panth** rather than by the individual owners who had been granted possession by the British. Before World War I, Sikhs were restive about the control of their gurdwaras, and as soon as the war ended they took action. In 1919 the **Central Sikh League** was constituted, and it in turn formed the **Akali Dal** and the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee** (SGPC) in 1920. The purpose of these two organizations was to wrest control of the principal gurdwaras from the **mahants** and to make the government recognize that it had been transferred. The Akali Dal was to seize the gurdwaras, and the SGPC was to take over the management when they had yielded. Initially the **Punjab** government opposed the movement, as ownership had been granted to the mahants who had title deeds to prove it. A series of incidents soon showed them that the Akali Sikhs were in deadly earnest, most notably the massacre at **Nankana Sahib**. This persuaded the government that it would have to give way, but it delayed the drafting of appropriate legislation as it searched for a face-saving formula. Eventually, it passed the **Sikh Gurdwaras Act of 1925**, which transferred ownership of a lengthy list of the more important gurdwaras in the **Punjab** to a committee to be elected by those people whom the act defined as Sikhs. The title of the SGPC was then transferred by the Akalis to the committee that was to control the gurdwaras.

See also GURDWARA REFORM MOVEMENT, ORIGINS; GURU KABAGH; JAITO; KEYS AFFAIR; POLITICAL PARTIES, PREPARTITION; POLITICAL PARTIES, POSTPARTITION.

GURDWARA REFORM MOVEMENT, ORIGINS. By the beginning of the 20th century, many **gurdwaras** were actually owned by non-Khalsa **mahants**, or hereditary supervisors, some of whom claimed they were **Udasis**. The accepted explanation was that in the 18th century, when **Sikhs** of the

Khalsa were being hunted down, it was more convenient to leave Sikh shrines in the hands of people without the outward appearance of the Khalsa and that for this reason they were entrusted to Udasis. In the late 19th century, the **Singh Sabha** had succeeded in arousing the awareness of many Sikhs, a process greatly hastened by the struggle between the **Sanatan Sikhs** and the **Tat Khalsa**. This struggle was in part resolved by the creation in 1902 of the **Chief Khalsa Divan** as a means of drawing the two sides together. It soon became clear, however, that the Chief Khalsa Divan was too politically conservative for many of the Tat Khalsa. Before World War I, the **Rakab-ganj Gurdwara** affair indicated a growing sense of dissatisfaction on the part of many Sikhs and a feeling that their Khalsa rights were not adequately recognized. Soon after the war the **Gurdwara Reform Movement** began.

GUR-MANTRA. “The Guru’s mantra.” The **Khalsa** mantra, or sanctified formula; an expression that is piously repeated as a form of *nām simaran*. This may be *sat nām* (True Name) or *sat nām vāhigurū*. **Trumpp** believed it to be *sat akāl srī gurū*. **Gian Singh** claimed that it comprised the first five stanzas of **Japji**.

GURMAT. “The teachings of the **Guru**.” What outsiders generally refer to as **Sikhism**, though more specifically **Sikh** doctrine extracted from Sikh scripture. Gurmat is a very important term and deserves to be in English usage.

See also MANMAT.

GURMATĀ (GURUMATĀ). During the 18th century, the dispersed forces of the **Khalsa** developed the practice of representatives of the various **misls** meeting together before **Akal Takhat** in **Amritsar**. When a decision was made by an assembly of the **Sarbat Khalsa**, it was regarded as a gurmata, “the will of the **Guru**,” and all were expected to accept it. The sanction of such decisions came from their being reached in the Guru’s actual presence in the scriptural form of the **Guru Granth Sahib** (the **Adi Granth** and also the **Dasam Granth**). Open copies of both scriptures were present at such assemblies.

GURMAT GRANTH PRACHĀRAK SABHA. An organization that was established at **Amritsar** in 1885, the aim of which was to disseminate the teachings of the **Sikh Gurus** through various publications and pamphlets.

GURMAT MĀRTANḌ. “The Sun of **Gurmat**.” The famous two-volume work by Bhai **Kahn Singh Nabha**, which was published posthumously in 1938, that outlines certain facets of **Sikh** belief and ideology especially colored by the principles of the **Tat Khalsa**, the organization of Sikh reformers of which Kahn Singh was a part.

GURMAT PRABHĀKAR. “The Light of **Gurmat**.” Published in 1898 by **Kahn Singh Nabha**, *Gurmat Prabhākar* compiles a number of **Sikh** principles that are arranged topically and alphabetically. This text is in many ways a forerunner to later **rahit** publications through which the spirit of **Tat Khalsa** reform ran.

GURMAT SAṄGĪT. The sacred **music** of the Sikhs that generally follows the rules and principles of classical Indian musicology.

See also GHARU.

GURMAT SUDHĀKAR. “The Moon of **Gurmat**.” Published in 1899 following *Gurmat Prabhākar*, this work too elaborates on features of a **Tat Khalsa**—inspired **rahit**.

GURMIT SINGH AULAKH (1938–). The self-appointed president of the Council of **Khalistan**, which attempts to peacefully support the creation of the Sikh state. He has often successfully lobbied the British and American governments, securing the support of politicians such as the Republican congressman from Indiana, Daniel Burton.

GURMUKH. “One whose face is turned toward the **Guru**.” A faithful follower of the Guru.

See also MAN; MANMUKH.

GURMUKHĪ. “From the mouth of the **Guru**.” The script of **Punjabi** that is made up of 35 letters and thus referred to in some cases as *paintī* (literally, “thirty-five”). To devout Sikhs, it possesses a sacred quality. The tradition that it was invented by **Guru Angad** is incorrect, though he may possibly have adapted it and introduced it to **Sikh** writings. Gurmukhi closely resembles the script of **Khatris** traders, and it was from this source that the Gurus obviously derived it.

GURMUKH SINGH (1849–1898). Born into a family of poor **Jats**, he began as a cook in the kitchen of the princely state of **Kapurthala**. Assisted by the raja, he acquired a Western education and rose to be a professor of **Punjabi** at Oriental College in **Lahore**. He identified with the Lahore branch

of the **Singh Sabha** and so with its **Tat Khalsa** section. A case was brought against him by conservatives, and he was banished from the **Panth** in 1887 for his radical approach. Eventually, however, he was vindicated. His campaign against doctrinal conservatism and **caste** continued, and his Tat Khalsa interpretation did much to indicate the future direction of the **Sikh** faith.

GURMUKH SINGH MUSAFIR (1899–1976). Chief minister of **Punjab** (1966–1967), one of the few non-**Jats** to hold the position.

GURNAM SINGH (1899–1973). Chief minister of **Punjab** in 1967 and 1969–1970.

GUR-PRAṆĀLĪ. A work listing the descendants of a **Guru**.

GUR-PRATĀP SŪRAY. *See* SŪRAJ PRAKĀSH (1844).

GURPURAB. Anniversaries of significant events associated with the **Gurus**, celebrated on lunar dates of the Indian calendar. Four are of particular importance: **Nanak**'s birthday, traditionally observed on a date in October or November; the martyrdom of **Arjan** (May–June); the martyrdom of **Guru Tegh Bahadur** (November–December); and **Gobind Singh**'s birthday (December–January). Numerous other Gurpurabs are also celebrated. The practice was greatly encouraged by the **Singh Sabha**.

GURSIKH. A “**Sikh** of the **Guru**.” A devout Sikh; an **Amrit-dhari** Sikh.

GUR-SOBHĀ. *See* SAINAPATI, CHANDRA SAIN.

GURŪ. “Guru” means “preceptor” and for **Hindus** has normally indicated a human teacher. Within the **Sant** tradition, however, “Guru” came to be identified with the inner “voice” of **Akal Purakh**. This view was inherited and transmitted by **Nanak**, for whom the Guru, or **Satguru**, represented the divine presence, mystically apprehended and inwardly guiding the truly devout along the path leading to mukti. Because Nanak communicated this essential truth with unique clarity, he, as human vehicle of the divine Guru, eventually received the title of Guru. This role was transmitted in turn to each of his nine successors, the divine spirit successively inhabiting 10 enlightened individuals. **Guru Gobind Singh** is traditionally believed to have announced that the personal transmission would end at his death, but that the mystical Guru would remain embodied in the scripture and the corporate **Panth**.

See also AMAR DAS, GURU (1479–1574); ANGAD, GURU (1504–1552); ARJAN, GURU (1563–1606); GURŪ GRANTH; GURŪ PANTH; HARGOBIND, GURU (1595–1644); HAR KRISHAN, GURU (1656–1664); HAR RAI, GURU (1630–1661); NANAK, GURU (1469–1539); RAM DAS, GURU (1534–1581); TEGH BAHADUR (1621–1675).

GURŪ DĪ CHARANĪ LAGṆA. “Entering the **Guru**’s shelter.” The ceremony observed by some families when a child begins reading the **Guru Granth Sahib** for the first time.

GURU GIRĀRATH KOSH. A dictionary of the **Adi Granth** compiled by the famous **Nirmala** Sikh scholar, **Pandit Tara Singh Narotam**.

GURU GOBIND SINGH MARG. The approximately 580 kilometer road established by the **Punjab** government in the early 1970s, the brainchild of Giani **Zail Singh**, that connects all of the historical places associated with **Guru Gobind Singh**’s seven-week march from **Anandpur** to **Talwandi Sabo (Damdama Sahib)** in 1704–1705. Although a road, **Guru Gobind Singh Marg** is also a historical text: in total 91 sites line the route, at 20 of which there are pillars commemorating the memory of the **Guru**’s movements along the road.

GURŪ GOBINDA. One of the three poems composed in Bengali on **Guru Gobind Singh** by Rabindranath Tagore.

GURŪ GRANTH. Sikhs recognize only one **Guru**, pre-existent before **Nanak** as the mystical “voice” of **Akal Purakh** and then successively incarnated in 10 men. By tradition, before he died **Guru Gobind Singh** decreed that no personal **Guru** would follow him. Instead, the mystical **Guru** would be enshrined jointly in the sacred scripture (**Guru Granth**) and the corporate decisions of the **Panth (Guru Panth)**. During the 18th century, **Sikhs** recognized the **Dasam Granth** as the **Guru** as well as the **Adi Granth**. Since that time preferences have shifted increasingly to the **Adi Granth**, a process greatly encouraged by the **Tat Khalsa**. Today the **Adi Granth**, together with a few works from the **Dasam Granth**, is tacitly recognized by many **Sikhs** as the only recorded voice of the **Guru**. Because of the status thus accorded to the **Adi Granth**, it is usually called the **Guru Granth Sahib**.

GURŪ GRANTH SĀHIB. “The sacred volume that is the **Guru**.” Strictly speaking, this entry is covered by that of the **Adi Granth**, as both refer to the same sacred scripture. A separate entry is justified on the grounds that **Sikhs**

attach such enormous importance to this scripture as the eternal Guru, treating it as central to all their observances. By tradition, shortly before he died **Guru Gobind Singh** announced that there would be no more personal Gurus and that at his death the functions of the Guru would be eternally embodied in the scripture and the **Panth**. The **Adi Granth** thus became the **Guru Granth Sahib**. This belief evidently arose after his death, perhaps several decades later. When the **Dasam Granth** was compiled, it too came to be treated as the Guru, and later in the 18th century both volumes were displayed together. During the 19th century, however, the **Dasam Granth** receded in comparison with the **Adi Granth**, and for most Sikhs it is now the **Adi Granth** that alone possesses the title of Guru. As such its importance is absolutely supreme. The two terms can now serve different functions. Whereas **Guru Granth Sahib** is the sacred scripture venerated by believers, **Adi Granth** is a neutral title usually employed by scholars.

One other distinction should be noted. As a single continuous printed volume of 1,430 pages, the **Guru Granth Sahib**, as the manifestation of the spirit of the eternal Guru, cannot in good conscience be subjected to the type of study in which typical scholars of the Sikh tradition engage. This single volume is the Guru and as such must be venerated and treated lovingly. Only when the scripture is divided into volumes of two or more can scholars study it for the purpose of critical analysis. In this case the scripture may be understood as the **Adi Granth**, and although it must certainly be treated with great respect, it need not be revered in the same way as the single volume **Guru Granth Sahib**. One is not required, for example, to carry the multivolume version of the scripture on one's head nor does one need to perform *matthe tekaṇā* in its presence.

See also GURU GRANTH SAHIB VENERATION.

GURU GRANTH SAHIB VENERATION. The **Guru Granth Sahib** is regarded as the living **Guru** to all **Sikhs**. In the morning it is taken in procession from its resting place and carried into the **gurdwara** to welcoming cries from those attending. It is then installed under a canopy and is fanned by an attendant. Whenever anyone enters a **gurdwara** the obligation is to do a *matthe tekaṇā* (bowing down and touching the floor with the forehead) before the sacred book. The volume is opened at random and a **hukam** taken (*hukam lainā*). At night it is ceremonially returned to its resting place. Whenever it is carried this must be on the head of the bearer.

GURU HAR SAHAI. The direct descendants of **Prithi Chand** who live in the village of **Guru Har Sahai** (Ferozepur District) claimed to possess the oldest volume of compositions subsequently recorded in the **Adi Granth**. This volume was reported stolen in a train theft in 1970.

GURU KA BAGH. A **gurdwara** near **Amritsar**. In 1921, during the **Gurdwara Reform Movement**, the custodian accepted initiation into the **Khalsa** but then complained to the police when **Akalis** started cutting timber from gurdwara land. The police acted forcibly, and the Akalis responded by organizing a regular series of nonviolent groups to march on the gurdwara. They were met by considerable police brutality, but the marches continued. After three weeks the governor of the **Punjab** was persuaded to visit the scene, and the violence was then stopped. As a face-saving device, the gurdwara land was privately purchased and then given to the gurdwara, by this time in Akali hands.

GURŪ KĀ LAṄGAR. *See* LAṄGAR.

GURŪ KĪĀN SĀKHĪĀN. “Stories about the **Guru**.” Said to have been written in 1790 by Svarup Singh Kaushish in a manuscript related to the ***Bhaṭṭ vahīs***. This manuscript is held by **Punjabi University**. In its description of the first **amrit sanskar**, it specifies a ***keskī*** instead of the uncut ***kes***. It has yet to be closely examined, but may have been interpolated.

See also BHATṬ VAHĪ.

GURU NANAK DEV UNIVERSITY. Founded in **Amritsar** as Guru Nanak University in 1969, partly for the quincenary of **Guru Nanak**’s birth and partly to give **Jats** some influence over a university. Later the word Dev was added to its title.

See also PUNJABI UNIVERSITY.

GURŪ PANTH. The Guru Panth was a doctrine particularly suited to the circumstances of the 18th century, providing an effective means of decision making for Sikhs who were divided into several **misl**s. When unification was achieved under **Ranjit Singh**, the practice of eliciting corporate decisions from the **Panth** was discarded. The doctrine is still maintained today, and efforts are occasionally made to seek the **Guru**’s will by this means. It is, however, seldom invoked. The voice of the Guru is much more commonly sought through the words of the **Guru Granth**.

GURUSHABAD RATANĀKAR MAHĀN KOSH. A substantial encyclopedia prepared by **Kahn Singh Nabha** and issued in four volumes in 1931. The work projects a **Tat Khalsa** view, but apart from some items that concern European subjects it is remarkably full and very accurate. It is still in wide use today, generally known simply as *Mahān Kosh*.

GURU-VANS. “The descendants of the **Gurus**.” These were **Sikhs** of the **Bedi**, **Trehan**, **Bhalla**, and **Sodhi** subcastes of the **Khatri** caste who were descended from one of the Gurus. **Nanak**’s subcaste was Bedi, **Angad**’s was Trehan, **Amar Das**’s was Bhalla, and **Ram Das**’s was Sodhi. All the subsequent Gurus were the descendants of Ram Das and consequently were also Sodhis. Throughout most of subsequent Sikh history the descendants of the Gurus were regarded with great respect and accorded privileges greater than those of ordinary Sikhs. This changed, however, with the influence of the **Tat Khalsa**, who insisted that all Sikhs should be regarded equally.

See also CUSHION CONTROVERSY.

GUTĀ. A small book containing the readings for **Nit-nem** and a short anthology of popular hymns. Also called a *Sundar Gutkā*.

GYAN-RATANĀVALĪ. A **janam-sakhi** based on Bhai **Gurdas**’s *Vār* I, erroneously attributed to **Mani Singh**. It is an early 19th-century product of the **Udasi** sect.

See also BHAGAT-RATANĀVALĪ.

H

HĀH DĀ NĀARA. “Cry for Justice.” The plea issued by Nawab **Sher Muhammad Khan** of **Malerkotla** to the emperor **Aurangzeb** to spare the lives of the young sons of **Guru Gobind Singh** who, along with their grandmother, were captured by the forces of **Wazir Khan** of **Sirhind**.

HAIR. *See* KES (KESH); FIVE Ks.

HAKĪKAT RĀH MUKĀM RĀJE SHIV-NĀBH KĪ. *See* HAQĪQAT RĀH MUQĀM RĀJE SHIV-NĀBH KĪ.

HALĀL. “Lawful.” Flesh of an animal killed in accordance with the Muslim ritual whereby it is bled to death.

See also JHAṬKĀ; KUTṬHĀ.

HAM HINDŪ NAHĪN. *We Are Not Hindus.* The booklet by **Kahn Singh Nabha**, first published in 1898, that summarizes in its title a key aspect of the message of the **Tat Khalsa**. The booklet largely comprises proof text quotations.

HANDALI. Followers of Handal (or Hindal), a **Jat** from Batala. Under his son Bidhi Chand, the followers of Handal (the Handalis) formed a schismatic group that disputed the leadership of the **Panth** with **Hargobind**. The Handalis have no importance, except that they are credited with originating the **Bala** tradition of **janam-sakhis**. The group is also known as the Niranjani Panth. The Handali center was Jandiala in **Amritsar** District.

HANUMAN. The Indian monkey god, disciple of Sri Ram Chandar, who is particularly well known, especially among **Khalsa** Sikhs, for his *siddhīs*, or magical powers. In the 18th and 19th century Hanuman, whose legendary strength was one of these siddhis, was particularly an object of reverence by the martial Khalsa. In fact, certain Khalsa regiments carried an image of

Hanuman on their battle standards. Also, tradition claims that **Guru Gobind Singh** was particularly fond of reading the *Hanumān Nāṭak* of Hirda Ram, a work describing the deeds of the powerful monkey deity.

HANŪMĀN NĀṬAK. “The Drama of **Hanuman**.” The story of Hanuman by Hirda Ram Bhalla with a special focus on the loyalty of the Hindu monkey god to Ram Chandar.

HAQĪQAT-I BINĀ VA ‘URŪJ-I FIRQĀ-YE SIKHĀN. “The Truth behind the origin and the rise of the community of Sikhs.” A Persian text, the author of which is unknown, describing what the title suggests and prepared in the late 18th century.

HAQĪQAT RĀH MUQĀM RĀJE SHIV-NĀBH KĪ. “The truth [concerning] the way to Raja **Shiv-nabh**’s [abode].” A brief work purporting to describe how to reach the land ruled by Shiv-nabh, appended at the end of all copies of the **Banno** recension of the **Adi Granth**.

HAQIQAT RAI (1724–1742). A **Khatiri Sahaj-dhari** of Sialkot who was executed in **Lahore** in spite of pleas of his piety. He thereby acquired the title of a **Sikh** martyr, his memory being particularly venerated by Maharaja **Ranjit Singh**.

HARBANS SINGH (1921–1998). First registrar of **Punjabi University**, distinguished as an author for his understanding of Sikhism and principal editor of the four-volume *Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*.

HARCHAND SINGH LONGOWAL (1932–1985). President of the **Akali Dal** when the Indian army attacked the **Golden Temple** complex in June 1984. In 1985 he signed an accord with the new prime minister, Rajiv Gandhi, which, had it been carried out, would have settled most of the Sikh grievances. Later that year he was assassinated, evidently by a militant **Sikh**. He was a **Sant**, and although the complexities of the **Punjab** situation frequently eluded him, he was a genuinely humble person.

HARDIAL, PANDIT. According to **Sikh** traditions discovered within the **janam-sakhis**, this was the name of the famous Hindu scholar and priest who prepared the horoscope for the future **Guru Nanak** and foretold of his greatness. Pandit Hardial also figures prominently in the story dealing with the young Nanak’s investiture with the sacred thread, a story we also find in the hagiography concerning Bhai **Nand Lal Goya**.

HARGOBIND, GURU (1595–1644). The Sixth **Guru** of the **Sikhs**, who succeeded his father **Arjan** in 1606 (following the latter's death at **Mughal** hands). Knowledge of Guru Hargobind's activities after this is somewhat sketchy. He prepared a number of **hukam-namas** in 1606, asking sangats to come with offerings of arms and horses. According to the reliable ***Dabistān-i Mazāhib***, Guru Hargobind was interned at the fort of Gwalior for some time as he was unable to pay a fine leveled on him by the emperor **Jahangir**. After his release (tradition tells us that on his discharge he had secured the release of 52 rajas, an act that tradition has memorialized with the Guru's epithet *bandīchhor*, the releaser of captives), the text continues that he was somehow attached to Jahangir's retinue, after which he fought four skirmishes with Mughal troops.

In 1634 **Hargobind** withdrew with his armed retinue to **Kiratpur** at the edge of the **Shivalik Hills**. This was much safer for him as it lay within **Hindur**, the territory of a vassal of the Mughal emperor rather than the actual empire. The direction of the **Panth** was now firmly fixed, emphasis being laid on military defense in addition to remembrance of the divine **Name**.

His eldest son, **Gurditta**, had predeceased him, and Gurditta's elder son, **Dhir Mal**, was considered unsuitable. The succession was already firmly fixed in the male line of the **Sodhi Khatri**s, and the actual candidate chosen to follow him as Guru was Gurditta's younger son, **Har Rai**.

Guru Hargobind had three wives (**Damodari**, **Nanaki**, and **Mahadevi**). Damodari was the mother of Gurditta and Nanaki of the Ninth Guru, **Tegh Bahadur**. Three other sons and one daughter were also born to him. No works were left by Hargobind, although certain Sikh traditions claim that the Sixth Guru was responsible for including within the scripture directions concerning which tunes certain ragas within the **Adi Granth** were to be sung to.

See also ANI RAI (1618–?); ATAL RAI (1619–1628); MUGHAL RELATIONS; SURAJ MAL (1617–?).

HARGOBIND, CHANGES OF POLICY. The period of **Guru Hargobind** makes clear a change in the **Sikh Panth** that had already begun to appear under his father, **Arjan**. When he succeeded to the office of **Guru** in 1606, the hostility of the **Mughal** rulers of the **Punjab** was already evident, and Hargobind had to spend some time imprisoned in Gwalior Fort. His following by this time consisted overwhelmingly of rural folk (particularly people belonging to the **Jat** caste), and these people were generally not inclined to submit to the threats of Mughal control. Hargobind, by tradition, marked this change by three symbolic gestures. The first was the wearing of two **swords** at his consecration, one representing the spiritual authority that his predecessors had always possessed (*pīrī*) and the other the temporal power that he was now assuming (*mīrī*). A second was that he had **Akal Takhat** erected in **Amritsar**, a high platform signifying the same temporal power. The third

was that he surrounded himself with armed men and preferred hunting to the peaceful pastimes of the first five Gurus. Many of his Sikhs were disquieted by this, preferring to have a Guru who stressed *nām simaran* rather than these martial qualities. The poet Bhai **Gurdas Bhalla**, however, recorded a famous verse in which he declared that the Guru alone can judge the circumstances of the time.

HARI. One of the most common names for **God** in the **Adi Granth** as in **Hindu** usage. The abbreviated form “Har” is also used.

See also AKĀL PURAKH; RĀM; VĀHIGURŪ.

HARIA, BHAI. One of the scribes who, tradition notes, was responsible for the transmission of various manuscripts of the **Adi Granth**.

HARI CHAND (?–1688). The ruler of the **Pahari** kingdom of Handur. Hari Chand fought alongside **Bhim Chand** of Kahlur in the Battle of **Bhangani**. His prowess is memorialized within the **Bachitar Natak**.

HARIJI, SODHI (?–1696). Great-grandson of **Guru Ram Das**. The second son of **Miharban** who led the Minas from 1640 to 1696. Like his father, Sodhi Hariji was a prolific writer.

HARIMANDIR SAHIB (AMRITSAR). The Divine Temple of **Hari (God)**, the **gurdwara** that is the prime focus of **Sikh** reverence and devotion. Sikhs also call it Darbar Sahib, or the Divine Court, though strictly speaking this term covers the whole temple complex. To English speakers (particularly Europeans), it is known as the **Golden Temple**. The latter name was attached to it after Maharaja **Ranjit Singh** gilded the upper two stories, and it became known as the *Suvāran Mandir*, or the Golden Temple.

Harimandir Sahib is situated within **Amritsar** and is regarded as the holiest place in the holiest city. **Guru Ram Das** (1534–1581), who founded Amritsar, excavated the pool that surrounds it. Tradition associates an ancient ber tree on the bank opposite Harimandir’s entrance with the water’s power to cleanse leprosy. The gurdwara was completed by **Guru Arjan** (1563–1606), who installed in it the newly completed **Adi Granth**. His son, **Guru Hargobind** (1606–1644), was compelled to withdraw to the **Shivalik Hills** from Amritsar, and for almost a century Harimandir remained in hostile sectarian hands. In the 18th century, however, **Khalsa Sikhs** returned and fought for it.

By mid century the gurdwara had become the principal focus of Sikh loyalty, and by 1800 it was firmly in their hands, never again to be surrendered. In 1984 its environs were badly damaged by the Indian army in its

attempt to dislodge **Khalistan** supporters, some bullets actually lodging in the gurdwara itself. Harimandir Sahib sits in the middle of the pool with a causeway connecting it to the bank. The space occupied by the actual gurdwara is relatively small, but the building has three stories. The body of the gurdwara is built of marble with semiprecious stones inlaid in various patterns.

See also ARCHITECTURE; HARIMANDIR SAHIB (AMRITSAR), ENVIRONS; HARIMANDIR SAHIB (AMRITSAR), PROCEDURE.

HARIMANDIR SAHIB (AMRITSAR), ENVIRONS. Several important buildings surround **Harimandir Sahib**. These include **Akal Takhat**, which stands a short distance opposite the entrance to the causeway on the western side. On the eastern side of the pool are the *laṅgar*, the headquarters of Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, and the **Guru Ram Das Sarai**, which provides accommodation for pilgrims. The Sikh Reference Library (southern side) was destroyed by fire during the army action in 1984, but the Central Sikh Museum (northern side) still stands. At the entrance to the causeway is an impressive gateway, the **Darashani Deorhi**. In the upper story is housed the *Tosh-khānā* (Treasury), its contents displayed once a year.

See also PARIKĀRAMA.

HARIMANDIR SAHIB (AMRITSAR), PROCEDURE. The gates of Harimandir Sahib are opened at 2:00 A.M. in summer and 3:00 A.M. in winter. In summer they close at 11:00 P.M., and 10:00 P.M. in winter. **Kīrtan** begins after their opening. The hours of closure are used for cleaning. At 5:00 A.M. the **Guru Granth Sahib** is placed on a palanquin, brought in procession from **Akal Takhat**, and installed in Harimandir until it is returned to its resting place (also in procession) before the closure each night. Crowds come for darshan, particularly on festival days. Four *akhaṇḍ pāṭhs* are always taking place on the upper story, the relays of readers being among the numerous **sevadars**.

See also GURDWARA PROCEDURE.

HARIMANDIR SAHIB (PATNA). The **gurdwara** in **Patna** that marks the spot where **Guru Gobind Singh** was born in 1666 while his father, **Tegh Bahadur**, was traveling in the east of India. It is one of the five **takhats**. The present building was erected in the mid-1950s.

HARI SINGH NALVA (1791–1837). The most famous of **Ranjit Singh**'s generals, brave in combat and a ruthless administrator. He was killed at the Battle of Jamrud near the Khyber Pass.

HAR KRISHAN, GURU (1656–1664). Eighth **Guru** of the **Sikhs**, who succeeded to the title of **Guru** when only five years old. The history of his short life is obscure. His elder brother **Ram Rai** is said to have offended his father **Guru Har Rai** through his sycophantic dealings with the **Mughal** emperor **Aurangzeb** and was accordingly passed over in 1661, the title going instead to **Har Krishan**. In 1664 **Aurangzeb** summoned him from the **Shivalik Hills** to **Delhi**, where he resided in the village of Raisina just outside **Delhi** at the house of **Raja Jai Singh**, marked by **Gurdwara Bangla Sahib**. While there he contracted smallpox, which proved fatal. Tradition records that before he died he uttered the words “**Baba Bakale**.” This indicated to his retinue that the next **Guru** was “the **Baba** [who is] in **Bakala**,” **Tegh Bahadur**, son of **Guru Hargobind** and his grandfather’s half brother. His name is also spelled **Hari Krishan**.

See also MUGHAL RELATIONS.

HARNAM KAUR (1882–1906). The wife of **Bhai Takht Singh** **Firozpur** who played a major role in the creation of the **Sikh** girls’ school, **Sikh Kanya Mahavidyala**.

HAR RAI, GURU (1630–1661). Seventh **Guru** of the **Sikhs**, a younger grandson of the Sixth **Guru**, **Hargobind**. His father, **Gurditta**, had predeceased **Hargobind**, and his elder brother, **Dhir Mal**, was held to be unsuitable as a successor. When **Hargobind** died in 1644, **Guru Har Rai** withdrew from **Kiratpur** farther back into the **Shivalik Hills** to avoid conflict and settled with a small retinue in the territory of **Sirmur**. From there he sometimes emerged onto the plains to preach and to visit his **Sikhs**. On the **Malwa** portion of the plains his **masands** were able to maintain his authority against competing interests, and on one of his visits he converted **Phul**, progenitor of the leaders of the **Phulkian misl** and of the princely families of **Malwa**. He is said to have been well disposed toward **Dara Shikoh**, the eldest son of Emperor **Shah Jahan** and rival of younger brother **Aurangzeb** for the **Mughal** throne. **Aurangzeb**, having won the throne, summoned **Har Rai** to **Delhi** in 1661 to explain his conduct. The **Guru** sent his elder son **Ram Rai** who, according to tradition, sought to ingratiate himself with **Aurangzeb** by claiming that a line from the **Adi Granth** to which the emperor took exception had been mistranscribed. This convinced **Har Rai** that his successor should be his younger son **Har Krishan**, only five years old when his father died. **Guru Har Rai** left no works, and sources for his life are particularly scarce. His name is sometimes spelled **Hari Rai**. There is disagreement concerning his wife or wives, one source naming two (**Kot Kalyani** and **Krishan Kaur**, each mother of one of his two sons) and another only one (**Sulakhani**).

See also WIVES OF THE GURUS.

HARSHA SINGH ARORA. First teacher of **Punjabi** at Oriental College, **Lahore**, and with **Gurmukh Singh** the founder of the **Lahore Singh Sabha** in 1879.

HATHA YOGA. “Yoga of force.” The kind of yoga practiced by Nath yogis, requiring extremely difficult physical postures. In the context of Nath theory, the word “shabad” is characteristically used in conjunction with *anahad*, or *anahat*, and refers to the mystical “sound” that is “heard” at the climax of the hatha yoga technique. The anahad shabad is, according to this belief, a “soundless sound,” a mystical vibration audible only to the adept who have succeeded in awakening the *kuṇḍalīnī* and caused it to ascend to the *sushumnā*. According to the physiological theories of hatha yoga, there are three principal channels (*naṇī*) that ascend through the human body. These are the *inā* and *pingalā*, which terminate in the left and right nostrils, respectively, and the sushumna, or *sukhmanā*, which is held to run up the spinal column. Along the sushumna are located six or eight *chakar* (discs, wheels, “lotuses”) and at its base, behind the genitals, is the kundalini, a latent power symbolized by the figure of a sleeping serpent. By means of the hatha yoga discipline the kundalini is awakened, and ascending the sushumna it pierces each chakar in turn, thereby releasing progressively effectual stores of psychic energy. At the climax of the ascent it pierces the *sahasradal*, “the lotus of a thousand petals,” said to be located at the top of the cranium. The *dasam duār* (“tenth door”) then opens and the spirit (*jīv*) passes through the fontanelle into the ineffable condition of *sahaj*, the state of ultimate union with Brahm. This theory was a powerful contender in the days of the early **Gurus**, and **Nanak** in particular devoted many hymns to negating it. Some of the Nath terminology (notably *sahaj*) did, however, pass into his usage.

HAUMAI. Literally “I-I” (the first person singular pronoun repeated). The self-centeredness of an unregenerate person, which can only be overcome by meditation on the divine **Name**.

HAWK. In popular art **Guru Gobind Singh** is frequently depicted with a white hawk on his wrist. A hawk is identified as the bearer of the **Guru**’s spirit, exhorting the **Sikhs** to hold fast during times of oppression. One was observed at **Guru ka Bagh** in 1921, and another was seen during the massacre of Sikhs following Mrs. Gandhi’s assassination in 1984.

See also CHITṬĀ BĀZ.

HAYAT KHAN (?–1688). Just before the Battle of **Bhangani** in 1688, Hayat Khan, a disbanded **Mughal** army official whom Guru Gobind Singh had recruited earlier, was persuaded to abandon the Guru. According to the **Bachitar Natak**, he was challenged during the battle by the Guru's maternal uncle **Kirpal Singh**, after which Kirpal Singh killed Hayat Khan.

HAZARA SINGH (1828–1908). Member of a distinguished family of **Amritsar** **gianis** and a renowned scholar of **Sikh** literature. He supported the **Singh Sabha** at its inauguration in 1873 and contributed learned works to its program. Among these, his edition of the *vārs* of Bhai **Gurdas** is still extensively used today. He was the maternal grandfather of **Vir Singh**.

HAZUR SAHIB. The chief **gurdwara** in Nander, recognized as one of the five **takhats**. It is also known as Sach Khand Hazur Sahib. This particular gurdwara has a long history, and **Sikhs** who have chosen to live around this site follow a number of practices that are discovered nowhere else. Among these is the regular veneration of weapons, which sometimes involves the sprinkling of goat's blood over them.

HEAVEN. *See* SVARAG.

HELL. *See* NARAK.

HEMKUNT SAHIB. In the Himalayas of the Garhwal region, at a height of 4,636 meters, is Hemkunt. This spot is said to be the place where **Guru Gobind Singh**, prior to his human birth, engaged in austerities. These austerities are described in **Bachitar Natak**, which traditionally was written by the **Guru**. A claim to have identified the place by its topographical resemblances was made in the early 1930s by **Tara Singh Narotam**. A **gurdwara** in the modern style has recently been erected there, accessible only in the warmer months.

HIKĀYATS. “Stories.” For many **Sikhs** the Hikayats are 11 stories in **Gurmukhi** Persian that appear at the end of the **Dasam Granth** (actually, these are the penultimate portion of the text if one includes the *Asfoṭak kabbits*, or extracanonical compositions, on the last eight pages of the Dasam Granth). This is, however, one interpretation of these stories. The manuscript record makes it clear that included among the Hikayats is a 12th story, which is in fact placed first, and that is **Guru Gobind Singh's** Persian epistle, the **Zafar-nama**. The modern version of the Zafar-nama that we find in the Dasam Granth makes this apparent by claiming that the couplets after couplet 12 are the *Hikāyat Pahilī*, or First Story. It seems clear, however, that the Zafar-

nama and the Hikayats have little in common apart from the fact that both are in Persian and both follow the same meter (in rare instances, moreover, a couplet from the Zafar-nama is repeated in the Hikayats). The sources for the Hikayats are many, including Ferdausi's *Shāh-nāmah*, the Tenth Guru's **Pakhyān Charitr**, and Muhammad Auḡi's 13th-century *Javami'ulhikayat va Lavami'u'rriwayat*.

HIMMAT SINGH (1661–1705). One the Cherished Five. A strong Sikh tradition claims that Himmat Singh was killed valiantly fighting during the Battle of **Chamkaur**.

HINDALI. *See* HANDALI.

HINDU ORIGINS. The question of whether **Sikhs** are Hindus surfaced explicitly during the **Singh Sabha** period, clearly dividing the **Sanatan Sikhs** from the **Tat Khalsa**. The Sanatan Sikhs had no difficulty in affirming that Sikhs are Hindus, but the Tat Khalsa were adamantly opposed. The most famous publication to emerge during the Singh Sabha period was entitled *Ham Hindū Nahīn* (We Are Not Hindus), by the Tat Khalsa writer **Kahn Singh Nabha**. As the Tat Khalsa view permeated the **Khalsa**, this exclusivist view came to be accepted as orthodox, though **Sahaj-dhari Sikhs** still maintained that it was incorrect. **Nanak** was certainly born a Hindu. Today, however, most orthodox Sikhs (which means Sikhs of the Khalsa) hold that they are definitely not Hindus.

See also IDENTITY.

HIRA SINGH DARD (1889–1965). Sikh journalist and author whose early poetic works are signed with the sobriquet *dard*, or “pain/grief.” Hira Singh also took part in the **Gurdwara Reform Movement** and was the assistant editor of the *Akālī* newspaper, a job for which he underwent a few imprisonments. After release from jail in 1924, Dard also participated in the Indian independence struggle, serving both the **Central Sikh League** and the **Shir-omani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee**.

HIRA SINGH DOGRA (1816–1844). Son of **Dhian Singh**, following whose assassination he won considerable support from the populist army. He lost it in 1844 and was killed by the army while trying to escape to the hills. *See also* DOGRA FAMILY.

HIRA SINGH, MAHARAJA (1843–1911). Hira Singh was the maharaja of Nabha state who was also the patron of certain Sikh reforms, especially **Anand** marriage, and a supporter of **Max Arthur Macauliffe**.

HĪR RAÑJHĀ. The enormously popular poetic story, set to music, of Hir and his beloved Ranjha.

HISTORY WRITING/HISTORIOGRAPHY. Since the 16th century **Sikhs** have been attempting to convey the stories of their past in written forms, likely beginning during the very lifetime of **Guru Nanak** (1469–1539). The **janam-sakhis**, for example, convey the life of the First Master, and for Sikhs and others of the premodern period it is likely that the events contained therein are understood as true and genuine. The predominant way the life and the person of Nanak is constructed in these is as the vehicle of salvation. These are texts that attempt to elicit the symbolic presence of the First Master to pious devotees so that through contact with him and his life story they may secure the knowledge that leads to liberation. Guru Nanak is thus the focal point of the stories and as such little about those around him is narrated, although much may be inferred.

Such themes and foci may be recognized in other early Sikh historical writings underscoring the concerns of the earliest Sikh writers, and these, in turn, can tell us something about their interests and the interests of their audience. The earliest **gur-bilas** literature, for example, extends the **janam-sakhi** theme despite the fact that the spirit of the genres differs to a large extent. The concern in the early gur-bilas is **Guru Gobind Singh** and the nascent **Khalsa** (but with only certain individuals of that Khalsa described) and the role the Tenth Master will play in the lives of his Sikhs after his death, whereas later gur-bilas literature, in which we may include 19th-century works such as those written by **Ratan Singh Bhangu** and **Santokh Singh**, focus near equally on individual Sikhs and individual Sikh groups (Malwais and Majhails in Bhangu, for example). This focus is also apparent in the ***Bhagat Ratnāvālī***, attributed to Bhai Mani Singh, which apparently provides brief descriptions of the many Sikhs mentioned in the eleventh *vār* of Bhai Gurdas.

The period of Bhangu was also a time that saw the further development of Persian writing on the Sikhs. Khushwaqt Rai's *Tārīkh-i Ahvāl-i Sikhān* of 1811 is a combination of the Persian *tārīkh* and the Sikh gur-bilas genres. It is only under the Singh Sabha that we come to more modern uses of history, such as that we see best in **Giani Gian Singh's** *Tavārīkh Gurū Khālsā*, which is one of the first sustained historical accounts in Modern Standard Punjabi prose rather than the verse that so dominated early Sikh historiography. In this regard *Tavārīkh Gurū Khālsā* draws from the earlier ***Mahimā Prakāsh Vārtak*** of Kirpal Das Bhalla, which is in prose too.

See also LITERATURE.

HOLĀ MAHALLĀ. A **Sikh** festival that takes place on the first of Chet (March–April), the day following the **Hindu** festival of **Holi**. The instituting of the festival is attributed to **Guru Gobind Singh**, the specific purpose being to provide for his Sikhs a day of military exercises. This, however, is most unlikely as Sikh sources indicate that Holi was celebrated by Sikhs into the 19th century. It is much more likely that Hola Mahalla was elevated to its present status by the reforming **Tat Khalsa**. The festival is still celebrated at **Anandpur** with martial competitions and a mock battle in which **Nihangs** participate prominently.

HOLĪ. The Hindu festival commemorating Vishnu’s rescue of Prahilad and Krishna’s dalliances with the gopis. **Guru Gobind Singh** is believed to have celebrated Holi at Anandpur as just such a celebration may be described in ghazal 31 within Bhai **Nand Lal Goya**’s *Dīvān-i Goyā*.

HOLKAR. The **Maratha** chieftain who, pursued by East India Company forces, took shelter in the **Punjab** in 1805. **Ranjit Singh** required him to withdraw and in 1806 signed a treaty of friendship with the company.

HOMOSEXUALITY. Both the **Guru Granth Sahib** and the **Sikh Rahit Marayada** are silent on the issue of homosexuality. But Sikhs themselves are not and have often used the scripture to back their varied opinions of the matter. Certainly the **Guru Granth Sahib** prescribes the ideal lifestyle of the Sikh to be that of *grahasti*, or that of the householder, and references to marriage abound in the scripture and within the **Rahit**. For some Sikhs this implies an implicit condemnation of same-sex unions and homosexuality. Other Sikhs, however, underscore **Guru Nanak**’s emphasis on love to all, *sarbat dā bhallā*, thus implying an acceptance of all loving relationships.

See also SAME-SEX MARRIAGE.

HÓNGTÓU Ā SĀN. “Red-Head Number Threes.” The Chinese word describing **Sikhs** in early to mid-20th-century Shanghai. Sikhs were employed predominantly as traffic wardens or watchmen throughout East Asian port cities, as perhaps the most junior representatives of the British Empire. The descriptive “red head” is alleged to originate from the particular red turban that Shanghai Sikh traffic wardens wore while conducting their duties. The second portion of the phrase, *ā sān*, likely has nothing to do with the number three but is rather derived from the characteristic way that the Chinese in Shanghai addressed the Sikhs in English: “I say!” or “Oh sir!” The presence of Sikhs was so commonplace in pre-independent Shanghai that they were a common sight on Shanghai streets and are thus featured numerous times in today’s Shanghai City Museum.

HONIGBERGER. A Hungarian, one of many Europeans employed by **Ranjit Singh**, though not in drilling the army but rather in preparing gunpowder.

HOOKAH (HUQQA). A smoking apparatus. The **tobacco** burns in a small bowl, from which smoke is drawn by inhaling it down through a receptacle containing water and thence up a lengthy (often flexible) stem. Hookahs were strictly forbidden to the early **Khalsa**, probably because their use was identified as a distinctively Muslim custom. The prohibition now extends to tobacco in any form. Smoking is regarded with particular aversion by Sikhs and is treated as one of the **kurahits**.

See also TOBACCO.

HUKAM. “Order.” The divine Order to which each person must submit in order to find liberation. In the teachings of **Nanak**, the divine Order is the constant principle governing the entire universe, manifested in the perfect consistency and regularity of **God’s** physical and moral creation. Each person must, through constant practice, strive to bring his or her life into accord with this principle. When the accord is perfect, liberation has been attained.

HUKAM LAINĀ. “To take an order.” For “taking a **hukam**” (or taking a *vāk*) the procedure is to open the **Guru Granth Sahib** at random and read the first hymn that appears at the top of the left-hand page (if necessary going back to the preceding page for the beginning of the hymn). This hymn is the **hukam** (or *vak*). If the portion happens to be a part of a *vār*, the complete stanza together with its associated **shaloks** should be read. A **hukam** is always taken at the conclusion of a worship service and as a part of the **bhog** ceremony following a complete reading of the **Guru Granth Sahib**. It may also be taken as a daily routine by devout **Sikhs** in the early morning.

HUKAM-NĀMĀ. “Letter of command.” Newly scrutinized manuscripts strongly suggest that the **hukam-nama**, which may also mean something akin to “written instruction,” originates not with the Sixth Guru, **Guru Hargobind**, as earlier believed, but rather with the Third Guru, **Guru Amar Das**, a **hukam-nama** from whom appears in ms. 913 held by **Guru Nanak Dev University** in **Amritsar**. We also hear of **hukam-namas** sent by **Guru Arjan** in **Guru Nanak Dev University** ms. 1040 and within the *Mahimā Prakāsh Vartak* of Kirpal Das Bhalla. These were sent to sangats or individuals, giving instructions or requesting assistance. Several examples are extant, and many from the time of **Guru Hargobind** have been printed, though a number are held by private individuals and gurdwaras. Virtually all of these early **hukam-namas** are, however, regarded by some scholars as spurious, the prod-

ucts of corrupt **masands** rather than those of the various **Gurus**, or of **Banda**, whose names they bear. For many Sikhs, however, these are genuine, written either by the Guru in question himself or by his scribe(s). Although these are by no means considered sacred utterances, they are nevertheless worthy of veneration by virtue of the fact that they had come into physical contact with the Guru.

Today hukam-namas are rarely issued and always come from a **takhat**, normally **Akal Takhat**. The modern procedure is for the Dharmik Salahakar Committee of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee to be summoned by the **Jathedar** of Akal Takhat, and if it decides that one should be issued it recommends doing so to him. In 1978 one was promulgated against the **Sant Nirankari** Darbar. Hukam-namas are believed to carry the full authority of the **Panth**, and disobeying them is a very serious offense for **Sikhs**.

HUMAYUN, NASIRUDDIN MUHAMMAD (1508–1556). Humayun, the beloved son of the first **Mughal** emperor **Babur**, apparently figures in the early history of the **Sikh Gurus**. According to a powerful Sikh tradition, the emperor Humayun stopped at Khadur to see **Guru Angad** as the former was leaving India for the court of Shah Tahmasp in Iran after his defeat at the hands of the Afghan general Sher Khan (later Sher Shah Suri). The disgraced emperor grew impatient during the meeting and was rebuked by the Guru. The story may certainly be an accurate one, although the story's parameters closely follow ones we find in the meetings between other saints and worldly rulers in which the saint's piety and spirituality ultimately defeats the worldliness of the ruler or in which the saint blesses the ruler with sovereignty.

HUSAIN KHAN (?–1696). The general of Dilawar Khan who was sent to Anandpur with a large force to chastise **Guru Gobind Singh** for defeating Dilawar Khan's son, the Khanzada noted in the **Bachitar Natak**. As he was making his way to the Guru's city of bliss, he became involved with Raja Raj Singh of nearby Guler, who did not produce a tribute that was levied on him. The Guru's forces joined those of Guler, while the Pahari kingdoms of Kangra and Bilaspur joined Husain Khan. Ultimately, Husain Khan and his allies were defeated.



‘IBRAT-NĀMAH. “The Lesson Book.” By the middle of the 18th century there were a number of similarly titled texts attempting to convey various lessons to their readers. A few of these works, likely intended for a **Mughal** audience, dealt with the Sikhs and in particular with the state of the Sikhs during the period of **Banda** immediately after the death of **Guru Gobind Singh**. Perhaps the most informative of these is the lesson book of Muhammad Harisi. Harisi, like many other *‘Ibrat-nāmah* authors, speaks harshly of Banda but does manage to slip in a number of statements in regard to **Sikh** courage and bravery, which are commonly read in history books on the Sikh tradition.

IDENTITY. This is an ongoing issue within the **Sikh Panth**, for most discussions of identity in the Sikh tradition often focus on the claims established by those Sikhs who express what is generally considered the normative variety of the tradition, the tradition represented in large part by those **Khalsa** Sikhs who are a part of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, and even these claims often remain ambiguous. Technically, there are five varieties of Sikh identity according to this normative viewpoint. (1) **Amrit-dhari Sikhs** are initiated members of the **Khalsa**, having received **amrit**, or the sanctified water of initiation, and observe to the best of their ability the injunctions of the **Khalsa Rahit** laid down in the **Sikh Rahit Marayada**. (2) **Kes-dhari Sikhs** observe some or all of the Khalsa Rahit, always including the uncut hair, but do not take initiation. All Amrit-dhari Sikhs are also **Kes-dhari**, but only a minority of Kes-dharis are Amrit-dharis. Kes-dharis are usually regarded as members of the Khalsa, although a strict definition excludes all except the Amrit-dharis. (3) The **Sahaj-dhari Sikhs** cut their hair and do not observe the **Rahit**. (4) The fourth group consists of those who belong to Khalsa families (bearing the name **Singh** for men or **Kaur** for women) but cut their hair. This group has no satisfactory name. The term Mona (shaven) **Sikhs** is sometimes used but has pejorative overtones. Terms have of course been suggested, such as *Ichhā-dhārī* (“one who desires”), but these have not yet taken root. (5) The **Patit** (fallen) Sikhs are Amrit-dharis

who have committed one of the four *kurahits*. The term is, however, loosely used to mean all Kes-dharis who cut their hair. When one goes beyond the normative viewpoint, however, different Sikh identities abound. The normative variety, for example, remains ambivalent regarding the status of Sikh groups such as the **Nam-dhari**, **Nirankari**, and even the **Nihang**. **Nanaksar** Sikhs as well would have an issue attempting to integrate themselves within these “normative” definitions.

See also SIKH/SIKKH.

IDOL WORSHIP. For **Sikhs** today, idol worship is strictly banned. Until the development of the **Singh Sabha** movement the practice was tolerated, and the **Sanatan Sikhs** could see no harm in keeping idols in the precincts of **gurdwaras**. The **Tat Khalsa**, however, was strenuously opposed to the practice, and in 1905 idols were removed from the precincts of **Harimandir Sahib**. Tat Khalsa opposition was based on an insistence that **God** could never be thus represented and also on their conviction that Sikhs were not Hindus. Its view is now accepted as orthodox.

IK-OAÑKĀR. A popular emblem used by **Sikhs**, a combination of the **Gurmukhi** figure *I* and the letter *O*, taken from the **Adi Granth**, where it is employed as the first part of various invocations. It represents the unity of **God** (“One Oankar,” or One Being). The emblem is a common feature of **Sikh** logos and frequently appears on buildings, clothing, books, letterheads, and so on. “Oankar” is actually a cognate of “Om” and can carry the same mystical meaning. Many Sikhs, however, object to any suggestion that they are the same word. For them, “Om” is Hindu whereas “Oankar” is Sikh.

See also HINDU ORIGINS.

IMMANENCE. In **Sikh** doctrine **Akal Purakh** is both immanent and transcendent. In his/her/its fullness, he/she/it is far beyond the understanding of mankind, yet is known to them through the created world. One needs but open one’s eyes, and the divine **Name** is everywhere to be seen. This message is repeatedly expressed in the hymns of the **Adi Granth**.

INDIRA PRIYADARSHANI GANDHI (1917–1984). The third prime minister of India, who served from 1966 to 1977 and again from 1980 to 1984. Her legacy among the **Sikhs** and the people of the **Punjab** is a tainted one. It was during Gandhi’s first term that today’s boundaries of the state of Punjab were drawn up and that Punjabi officially became the language of the state, a gift apparently to the Sikhs who had valiantly served during the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965. However, measures such as the declaration of Emergency and the state that subsequently ensued between 1975 and 1977 saw

stringent Akali-Sikh opposition to her government. The perceived humiliation inflicted on Sikhs during the Asian Games of 1982 and the army action against the Golden Temple in 1984 code-named **Operation Blue Star** saw her popularity plummet to the depths in the state. Blue Star as well ultimately resulted in the prime minister's assassination on 31 October 1984.

INITIATION TO KHALSA. *See* AMRIT SANSKĀR.

ISHNĀN. “Bathing.” Enjoined by the **Adi Granth** before meditation on the divine **Name**. **Sikhs** are expected to bathe immediately after arising, before commencing **Nit-nem**. Where complete bathing is not practical, *pañj ishnān* are permissible.

ĪSHVAR. “The immanent lord.” A term for the divine. In some instances, in Punjabi, a diminutive of the term may form a suffix as in *dashmesh*, or “The Tenth Lord,” as the combination of *dasam* and *īshvar*.

IZZAT. “Prestige.” Honor associated with the social status of a family. The sense of izzat is particularly strong among the **Jats**.

J

JAGANA BRAHMAN (BHAJ JAGANA). A devout follower of both **Guru Arjan** and **Guru Hargobind** residing in Agra who was both a skilled warrior as well as a well-known and meticulous scribe.

JAGIASI. “The need to know.” Members of this group are predominantly non-**Khalsa Sikhs**, although a small number do in fact belong to the order. Jagiasis are somewhat similar to the Udasi Sikhs who trace their origins to **Baba Siri Chand**, **Guru Nanak**’s son. The major difference between them, however, is that the Jagiasis claim to be ideologically descended from **Guru Nanak**’s second son, **Lakhmi Das**, and thus embrace the lifestyle of the *grhasti*. Although Jagiasis revere the **Guru Granth Sahib**, they also perform **Hindu** rites.

JAGĪR. A grant of land that was an important component of the *jagīrdarī* system in which land would be gifted to a vassal, who in turn was to supply service to the granter.

JAGIR KAUR (1954–). The first **Sikh woman** elected to the post of president of the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee**.

JAGJIT SINGH CHAUHAN (1929–2007). The apparent founder of the **Khalistan** movement in the early 1970s who sought to create a sovereign **Sikh** state carved out of the post-1966 **Punjab** state territory within India. Although the idea of **Khalistan** had been bandied about certain Sikh circles in the 1940s as India approached independence from Great Britain, the movement itself was apparently heralded by the 13 October 1971 advertisement that Chauhan had placed in the *New York Times* that proclaimed an independent Sikh state.

JAHANGIR, NURUDDIN MUHAMMAD (1569–1627). Although the emperor Jahangir is remembered predominantly for the extraordinarily beautiful paintings produced in his atelier (and for the elevation of his Persian

wife, Mihrunnisa—later Nur Jahan—to rulership), his image in the history of the Sikh tradition is by no means as pleasant. What scholars are all agreed upon and know for certain is that he played a decisive role in the execution of **Guru Arjan**, who was killed in **Mughal** custody under the emperor's order for what Jahangir considered the support of the emperor's son, **Khusrau's**, rival claim to the throne. Jahangir also dealt somewhat harshly with **Guru Hargobind**, jailing the young Guru at Gwalior very soon after his father's execution. The *Dabīsān-i Mazāhib* claims that this was done because the Sixth Master could not pay a fine the emperor had imposed upon him. The *Dabistān* also states that the Sixth Master was for a time attached to Jahangir, in what capacity, however, is left unsaid. The last six years of Jahangir's life were ones during which the direction of the empire was influenced by Jahangir's favorite wife, Nur Jahan. He died in 1627.

JAHANGIR-NĀMAH. See TŪZUK-I-JAHĀNGĪRĪ.

JAIDEV. A Bengali poet of the 12th century. Traditionally, he is regarded as the same Jaidev who wrote the *Gīt Govind*. There are two works by him in the **Adi Granth**.

See also LITERATURE.

JAI RAM (?–1518). The husband of **Nanak's** sister **Nanaki**, employed as the steward of **Daulat Khan Lodi** in **Sultanpur**. He was certainly a **Khatri**. His subcaste is variously said to have been Uppal or Palta.

JAI SINGH, RAJA (1605–1667). A Kachwaha **Rajput** and a general of **Mughal** forces during the rule of both **Shah Jahan** and **Aurangzeb**. Jai Singh figures in Sikh history as he was used as an intermediary to request the presence in **Delhi** of the Sikh Gurus **Har Rai** and **Har Krishan**. Although **Guru Har Rai** did not come, the Eighth Guru did, and when in **Delhi** **Guru Har Krishan** was lodged in Jai Singh's bungalow, which is now the site of **Gurdwara Bangala Sahib**.

JAI SINGH (1712–1793). The founder of the **Kanhaiya misl** who had allegedly taken **amrit** from the hands of **Nawab Kapur Singh**.

JAITA (trad. 1657–1704). Bhai Jaita was a **Ranghreta Sikh** who was present at the execution of **Guru Tegh Bahadur** and secretly carried the severed head up to **Anandpur** to lay it before **Gobind Singh**. Tradition also relates that upon taking initiation into the **Khalsa**, he assumed the name Jivan Singh and became a leading soldier under **Guru Gobind Singh**. He was killed at **Chamkaur** during the withdrawal from **Anandpur** in 1704. Tradi-

tion claims that Bhai Jaita also wrote a chronicle of Guru Gobind Singh called *Srī Gur Kathā* that included details regarding *amrit sanskāṛ* and the **Five Ks**. The date of this composition is questionable.

JAITO. In 1923 the British government of the **Punjab** forced the abdication of Ripudaman Singh, the maharaja of **Nabha**. He was reputed to be sympathetic to the **Akalis**, who organized a number of *akhaṇḍ pāṭhs* throughout the state in sympathy. One of these, in the village of Jaito, was interrupted by the police and led to a major episode in the **Gurdwara Reform Movement**. The Akalis conducted a determined campaign, or *morchā*, establishing the right to worship freely. Jaito also attracted much attention from M. K. Gandhi and the **Congress Party**, though Gandhi stressed that the religious issue should be detached from the political question of abdication.

JALAU. The public display of jewels and other precious articles held by **Harmandir Sahib**, **Akal Takhat**, and **Gurdwara Baba Atal Rai**. They are put on display during the **gurpurabs** of **Nanak**, **Ram Das**, and **Gobind Singh** and on the anniversary of the installation of the **Guru Granth Sahib**.

See also MATERIAL CULTURE.

JALLIANWALA BAGH. A garden very close to the **Golden Temple** complex in **Amritsar** named after the Brahman priest who tutored the child **Hira Singh Dogra**, Pandit Jalla. It was shot into infamy in the early 20th century. During the disturbances of 1919, Brigadier General Dyer, who was in command of Amritsar, feared a serious outbreak in the city and placed it under martial law. Hearing that a large crowd had gathered in the park known as Jallianwala Bagh, he immediately dispatched troops, who opened fire on the unarmed people who had gathered there. This had two results: the death of an indeterminate number of people and the creation of a powerful psychological weapon for the Indian resistance movement under M. K. Gandhi.

JAMĀ'ĪAT-I SIKHĀN. "Gathering of **Sikhs**." The irregular Sikh troops that were maintained by the Nizam of Hyderabad.

JAMSHAI D KHAN (?–1708). The Ruhila Afghan who attempted to assassinate **Guru Gobind Singh**.

JANAM-ASTHĀN. The **gurdwara** in **Nankana Sahib** marking the birthplace of **Guru Nanak**.

See also NANKANA MASSACRE.

JANAM-SĀKHĪ. A hagiographic work on the life of **Guru Nanak**. The earliest dated janam-sakhi was recorded in 1658, but clearly their origins go much further back, probably to the actual lifetime of the **Guru**. Janam-sakhis first circulated orally as individual anecdotes about Nanak. After some time recorded versions began to appear, with the anecdotes loosely grouped in various chronologies corresponding to birth, childhood, manhood, and death. Later another version ordered the anecdotes about Nanak's adult life into a more structured sequence. Beginning with stories of his childhood, they take him through early manhood in the town of **Sultanpur**, extensive travels within and beyond India, and a final period of teaching back in the **Punjab** at **Kartarpur**. Banaras, Sri Lanka, Mecca, and the legendary Mount Sumeru are among the many places he visits on his travels.

The janam-sakhis derive from earlier **Sufi** models and many of the anecdotes are borrowed from Hindu and Muslim sources. Practically all of them are in simple Punjabi prose. All quote extensively from the **Adi Granth**, though their versions are seldom correct copies. Few facts can be ascertained from them, most of the anecdotes being tales of wisdom or marvelous deeds of a kind that so easily attach themselves to a great religious teacher. They have, however, been extensively used for writing "biographies" of Nanak, with popular accounts favoring the **Bala tradition** and more respectable accounts depending on the **Puratan tradition**. This misunderstands the nature of hagiographic writing, for no reliable account of Nanak's life can be derived from any of the janam-sakhis.

JANAM-SAKHI TRADITIONS. Several **janam-sakhi** versions, or traditions, have survived. The most important are the **Bala** and **Puratan** traditions. Others are the **Adi Sakhis**, the ***Gyān-ratanāvalī***, and the two versions of the ***Mahimā Prakāsh*** tradition, one of which is in verse. A significant version that did not give rise to a tradition was the **B40 Janam-sakhi**. A rather different style is followed by the **Miharban Janam-sakhi**, a work that is traced to the **Minas**. This uses the anecdotal framework to form the basis for a lengthy series of exegetical commentaries on the works of **Nanak**.

JANG-NĀMAH. The title of many Persian works dealing with **Sikh** martial history. The most often referenced, however, is the Persian work written by Nur Muhammad in 1764–1765 while he accompanied **Ahmad Shah Abdali** on his seventh invasion. It contains information about 18th-century Sikhs.

JĀP. A work of 199 short verses attributed to **Guru Gobind Singh** and included in the **Dasam Granth**. It contains numerous terse descriptions of **God**, many only a single word. The **Jap** (or ***Jāp Sāhib***) should not be confused with **Guru Nanak's Japji**.

See also LITERATURE.

JAPJĪ. Also spelled *Japujī*, “Repeat [God’s Name].” The best-known and most loved of all the scriptural works of the **Panth**. Japji (or *Japjī Sāhib*) is a composition by **Guru Nanak** that occurs at the beginning of the **Adi Granth** on pages 1–8, immediately after the **Mul Mantra**. Unlike the remainder of the **Adi Granth**, it is recited or chanted, not sung. It is included in the early morning portion of **Nit-nem**, to be said after waking and bathing. Many **Sikhs** observe only this part of the daily liturgy, murmuring Japji while performing other duties, such as preparing breakfast or proceeding to work. *Japji* consists of 38 stanzas with an epilogue by **Guru Angad**, expressing in words of singular beauty a long hymn of praise to **God**. It concludes with a description of the five *khaṇḍ*s, the levels through which the soul ascends to perfect union with the divine. Japji should be distinguished from **Gobind Singh’s Jap**, also specified as a part of Nit-nem.

See also LITERATURE.

JARNAIL SINGH BHINDRANVALE (1947–1984). A **Sant** born into a poor family and sent by his father to the **Damdami Taksal** at the age of seven. The Taksal gave him an education in the **Guru Granth Sahib**, and he became a fervent preacher of fundamentalist **Khalsa** traditions. He also became leader of the **Damdami Taksal** at a young age. **Punjab** politics at this time were divided by hostility between the **Akali Dal** and the central government over the claim that the state should have greater autonomy in managing its affairs. The **Congress Party** (which controlled the central government) was seeking some **Sant** to cause disruption within the **Akali Dal** and, unaware, Bhindranvale was selected for this purpose. In this he succeeded, going well beyond the intentions of the Congress and attracting an increasing number of **Sikhs** to his radical cause. As conditions in the **Punjab** deteriorated still further, he took up residence in the **Golden Temple** complex, ever exhorting the **Sikhs** to be true to their traditions and never to bow before the devious and cunning **Hindus**. Conditions became even worse, and the central government eventually mounted an attack by the army on the **Golden Temple** complex in early June 1984. In this attack Bhindranvale was killed. A considerable mythology gathered around him during his lifetime, and there is every indication that he will always be regarded as a great hero and martyr of the **Panth**.

See also POLITICAL PARTIES, PREPARTITION; POLITICAL PARTIES, POSTPARTITION.

JASSA SINGH AHLUVALIA (1718–1783). Prominent **Sikh** military leader during the turbulent middle years of the 18th century. He was born in the village of Ahlu near **Lahore** and became leader of the **Ahluvalia misl** with **Kapurthala** as its center. Together with other **misl** leaders, he fought the **Mughals** and Afghans for control of the **Punjab**. On the occasions when the misls joined to form the **Dal Khalsa**, Jassa Singh Ahluvalia was recognized as supreme leader. His only son had died young, but the territory he controlled in **Doaba** survived under his successor, Bhag Singh. Even within the united Punjab of Maharaja **Ranjit Singh**, the next successor, Fateh Singh, was allowed considerable independence. Jassa Singh Ahluvalia was a Kalal by **caste**, a fact that acquired importance when the Kalals were consciously elevating their status in the caste hierarchy of the Punjab.

JASSA SINGH RAMGARHIA (1723–1803). Born in the village of Ichogil near **Lahore**, Jassa Singh Ramgarhia was by **caste** a **Tarakhan** and was previously known as Jassa Singh Thokar, or Jassa Singh the Carpenter. During the **misl** period he took command of what was to become the **Ramgarhia misl** and adopted policies that conflicted with those of most other **sardars** who commanded misls. He built the mud fort Ram Rauni beside **Amritsar**, but when he was commanded by his superior **Adina Beg** to attack it, he changed sides and defended it instead. Subsequently, he rebuilt the damaged fort and named it Ramgarh in 1752. From this fort he came to be called Jassa Singh Ramgarhia. He held the territories to the north of **Amritsar**, but in the period of internecine warfare between the misls he lost it to the **Kahnaiya misl**. Turning to the southeast, he led his followers in attacks across the Jamna River and for a short time held **Delhi**. He died in 1803 and his son Jodh Singh surrendered his territories to **Ranjit Singh**.

See also RAMGARHIA.

JAT. A rural **caste** of **Punjab** and Haryana. In Pakistani Punjab the **Jats** are Muslims; in Indian Punjab, adjacent Haryana, and northern Rajasthan they are **Sikhs**; and in the remainder of Haryana most of them are **Hindus**. In rural Punjab the Sikh Jats are strongly dominant, owning most of the valuable land and controlling the administration. This control extends into the state politics of the Punjab, where most of the chief ministers since independence in 1947 have been Jats. In the **Panth** they are particularly prominent, comprising more than 60 percent of all Sikhs. There they are frequently in competition with the **Bhapa Sikhs** who, although much smaller in actual numbers, possess considerable skill in leadership and resources.

JATHĀ. A “military detachment” commanded by a **jathedar**. During the 18th century the **Sikhs** fought in jathas. Today the **Akali Dal** is organized into jathas.

JATHEDĀR. The commander of a **jatha**; the chief officiant of a **Sikh** institution.

JATPURA. *See* LAMMAN.

JAWAHIR SINGH KAPUR (1859–1910). A **Khatri Sikh** who joined the **Lahore Singh Sabha** in 1885 and became one of its most prominent members. Previously he had belonged to the **Arya Samaj**, but left it when its hostility to the **Sikh** faith became apparent. Education was for him a compelling interest.

JHAṬKĀ. The flesh of an animal killed with a single blow, approved for consumption by members of the **Khalsa**.

See also HALĀL; KUTṬHĀ.

JHINVAR. A depressed **caste** of porters, water carriers, and basket makers.

JIND. One of the three **Phulkian** states. Because it, like all three Phulkian states, lay to the east of the Satluj, it was not absorbed by **Ranjit Singh** and instead became a princely state under British rule. After **Partition** it merged with other princely states to become the **Patiala** and Eastern Punjab States Union (**PEPSU**).

JINDAN or MAHARANI JIND KAUR (1817–1863). The youngest of Maharaja **Ranjit Singh**’s three wives and the mother of his seventh son, **Dalip Singh**.

JIT MALL (?–1688). One of the cousins of **Guru Gobind Singh** who was killed during the Battle of **Bhangani**. According to the **Bachitar Natak**, Jit Mall killed Raja Hari Chand with a single thrust of his spear.

JITO (?–1700). The first of **Guru Gobind Singh**’s three wives, married in 1677; mother of **Jujhar Singh**, **Zorawar Singh**, and **Fateh Singh**.

JĪVAN-MUKAT. “One who has found liberation while yet physically living.” A person who, by reason of great piety, achieves the goal of liberation and union with the divine before death.

JODH SINGH (1882–1981). A **Khatri Sikh**, member of the **Singh Sabha**, and a leading educator. He was also a major **Sikh** ideologue whose predominant work, *Gurmat Nirnai* (1932), may be likened to a Sikh theology.

JOINT FAMILY. Most **Sikhs** used to live in joint families, and many still do. The convention is weakening, however, as some Sikhs are now required to live as nuclear families or prefer to do so. The gradual passing of the custom is regarded with regret, at least by older Sikhs, as its weakening is accompanied by diminishing obedience traditionally shown to elders.

JOTI BIGĀS. “The Light Effulgent.” This is the title of two works attributed to Bhai **Nand Lal**, one in Punjabi and the other in Persian, both of which describe the grandeur of the 10 **Sikh Gurus** and the very popular Sikh belief that all 10 Gurus shared the same light, or *joti*. It may be that the Persian *Joti Bigās* is an attempt to translate or at least interpret the Punjabi work, as manuscripts of the Persian text often include the word *tarjumah*, or “translation,” in the title.

JOTI JOT. The expression “*joti jot samauna*” means “to merge light into light” and is used for the death of a pious person (including the **Gurus**). It refers to the belief that each individual is a fragment of light from the Supreme Light, or **Paramatma**, and at the death of a pious person that fragment merges back into the Light from which it came without having to continue the rigors of transmigration.

A JOURNEY FROM BENGAL TO ENGLAND. A two-volume work posthumously published in 1790 memorializing the journey of George Forster. In one of his letters he provides stunning details regarding the **Sikhs**.

JUGĀVALĪ. An apocryphal work attributed to **Guru Nanak** by the Colebrooke version of the **Puratan janam-sakhi** tradition.

See also KACHCHĪ BĀṆĪ.

JUJHAR SINGH, SAHIBZDA (1691–1705). Second son of **Guru Gobind Singh** whose mother was Mata **Jito**. He died fighting during the **Battle of Chamkaur**.

JĪRĀ (JOORA). The topknot into which a male **Sikh** ties his **hair**.

K

KABIR (c. 1440–1518). The most celebrated exponent of the **Sant** tradition of northern India apart from the **Sikh Gurus**. Kabir's name is a Muslim one, but the beliefs that can be extracted from his many hymns seem Hindu. In view of the **Nath** terminology and concepts in them, he probably came from a family with Nath connections that had recently superficially converted to Islam. Kabir spent most of his life in Banaras, where he followed his lowly **caste** occupation as a Julaha (weaver). Probably he was illiterate. Three collections of his works exist: the eastern (the *Bījak*), the western (the *Kabīrgranthāvalī*), and the **Punjabi** (the **Adi Granth**). The **Adi Granth** collection appears to be the oldest. Each differs from the other two, but the degree of overlap and other similarities mean that they essentially have a common origin, although modified by their differing oral traditions. The **Adi Granth** contains 534 *shabads* and *shaloks*, making the Kabir collection the largest of the **bhagat bani**. Through his works, Kabir emerges as a thorough **Sant**, at once blunt and mystical. All externals of religion are scathingly rejected, the way of true belief being wholly within.

KABIR PANTHIS. The followers of **Kabir**.

KABITT-SAVAIYYE. The 675 or so *kabitts*, or poems, that follow a certain style and meter that are attributed to Bhai Gurdas Bhalla.

KACHCHĪ BĀṆĪ. A spurious composition falsely attributed to one of the **Gurus**.

See also JUGĀVALĪ; PRĀṆ SAṅGALĪ.

KACHH (KACHHAHIRĀ). Shorts that must not reach below the knee. It is one of the **Five Ks** and as such mandatory for both male and female **Amrit-dhari Sikhs**. They may be worn as an undergarment.

KAHNAIYA, BHAI. *See* GHAHNAIYA RAM (BHAĪ GHAHNAIYA).

KAHNAIYA MISL. A **misl** of medium strength with territory northeast of **Amritsar**. The chieftain's son, Gurbakhsh Singh, was killed in fratricidal strife between misls in 1782. His widow, **Sada Kaur**, emerged as the effective leader of the misl and married her daughter to **Ranjit Singh**. For a while she was able to protect the misl from being absorbed by the Kingdom of the **Punjab**. In 1821, however, Ranjit Singh annexed her territories.

KAHN SINGH NABHA (1861–1938). A learned **Sikh**, author of the detailed and generally accurate encyclopedia of Sikhism entitled ***Gurushabad Ratanākar Mahān Kosh*** (first published in 1931). Born a **Jat**, he took his name from the town of **Nabha** and was for a time chief minister of the small princely state of Nabha. He attained fame as an apologist for the **Tat Khalsa** group within the **Singh Sabha**. One work of his, a small booklet entitled ***Ham Hindū Nahīn*** (We Are Not Hindus), first issued in 1898, became the standard-bearer in asserting that Sikhs are fundamentally different from Hindus. In spite of his work for the Tat Khalsa, he was for some time regarded with caution because of his ties with the **Panch Khalsa Divan** and his interest in the **Namdharis**. Kahn Singh gave considerable assistance to **Macauliffe** in writing and publishing *The Sikh Religion*. His first name is also spelled Kahan and sometimes misspelled Kanh.

KALA AFGHANA. Although Kala Afghana is a village in Gurdaspur District, the term itself is today best known among **Sikhs** for Gurbakhsh Singh, a writer who resided within the village and thus to whose name is appended the subtitle Kala Afghana. A proclaimed “**Adi Granth** purist” who rejects the **Sikh Rahit Marayada**, Kala Afghana's most famous text is ***Bipran Kī Rīt ton Sach Dā Mārag***, or *From the Practice of Brahmanical Ritual to the Path of Truth* (the title playing upon a hymn attributed to **Guru Gobind Singh**), in which he details the many common rituals and stories associated with the Sikh tradition that, in his opinion, stem from Brahmanical sources and not from the sacred Sikh text. The implication, of course, is that all Sikhs must therefore reject these apparently non-Sikh rituals. As his work dissects long-held Sikh stories and rituals, such as ***amrit sanskār***, it has become especially controversial, on the one hand electrifying some iconoclastic Sikhs, while on the other earning him an excommunication from the Akal Takhat in July 2003.

KALAL. See AHLUVALIA.

KALGĪDHĀR. “Wearer of the aigrette.” **Guru Gobind Singh**.

KALIYUG (KALIYUGA). The fourth of the four eras in the cosmic cycle; the age of ultimate degeneracy that precedes the Sat Yuga, or the Age of Truth. At present the world is passing through the Kaliyug, often likened to a stormy ocean. According to **Gurmat** only meditation on the *nām* can ensure that the ocean is crossed.

KALSIA. A state with territory in the **Punjab** (near Moga) and what is now Haryana (near Jagadhri). Because the territories of Kalsia all lay east of the Satluj, it was not absorbed by **Ranjit Singh** and instead became a princely state under British rule. After **Partition** it merged with other princely states to form **PEPSU (Patiala and Eastern Punjab States Union)**.

KALU. Known as Mahita Kalu, he was a **Bedi Khatri**, keeper of the land records in the village of **Rai Bhoi di Talvandi**, and father of **Guru Nanak**. He was married to **Tripta** and had a daughter, **Nanaki**, in addition to Nanak.

KĀM. Desire, lust, lasciviousness. This is among the five cardinal vices in the Sikh tradition.

KAMAL (KAṆVAL). The lotus flower. Its symbolic importance lies in the fact that the lotus has its roots in the muddy water and yet it rises above this and keeps itself untouched by it. As such it is perfectly suited to **Guru Nanak**'s stress on living purely in an impure world.

KAMRUP. In Kamrup the **janam-sakhis** set their story of the legendary *strī-desh*, or Land of Women. When **Nanak** and **Mardana** arrive at its border, Mardana offers to go ahead to beg for food. There he is turned into a sheep by the women of Kamrup. Nanak follows and they try to enchant him also, but to no effect. Eventually the women acknowledge his superior power and make their submission. Kamrup has been identified with the area of that name in Assam, but this is not possible, partly because the janam-sakhis have no idea of its actual location and partly because of the nature of the story. The actual origin is found instead in tantric mythology, where Kamrup figures as a symbol of eroticism and dark magic.

KANA. Having only one eye and therefore an unsuitable person for administering initiation into the **Khalsa**. The term is also used to mean a Muslim.

KAṆGHĀ. The small wooden comb worn in the topknot by **Sikhs** of the **Khalsa**. It is one of the **Five Ks**.

KANPHAT. See NATH TRADITION.

KĀNṚE KĪ VĀR. Composition by **Guru Ram Das** in the **Adi Granth**.

KANWAR PAL SINGH GILL (1934–). Better known as K. P. S. Gill. Gill served two terms of service as director general of police within the **Punjab**. Although he is often credited with having brought an end to the insurgency within the state in the 1980s and 1990s, there are claims that Gill's methods were as harmful as those employed by the militants whom he combatted.

KAPAL MOCHAN. A **Hindu** place of pilgrimage visited by **Guru Gobind Singh** as he was returning from **Paonta Sahib** to **Anandpur**, which has been immortalized in one of the charitrs of the **Pakhyan Charitr** (Charitr 71). There is also a recently discovered *tamar patar*, or copper plate, that was bestowed upon the Hindu mandir there by the Tenth Guru in 1679.

KAPUR SINGH (1909–1986). An important intellectual in the campaign for **Punjabi Suba** and in the **Khalistan** agitation. Kapur Singh played a prominent part in the construction of the 1973 **Anandpur Sahib Resolution**.

KAPUR SINGH, NAWAB (1697–1753). Prominent Sikh military leader during the 18th-century struggle for supremacy against Muslim power in the **Punjab**. He first attained prominence in 1733 when **Zakariya Khan**, trying peaceful means of controlling the **Khalsa**, offered the rank of Nawab to anyone chosen by the **Sikhs**. Kapur Singh was selected, and for a few years the Punjab remained relatively quiet. Later the forces of the Khalsa divided into **misl**s, Kapur Singh leading the **Faizulapurias**. For a time he was recognized as the leader of the **Dal Khalsa**, but later stood aside in favor of **Jassa Singh Ahluvalia**. Kapur Singh was a **Jat**.

KAPURTHALA. A separate state in **Doaba** from the **misl** period when it was founded by Sadhu Singh. Later it came under the control of **Jassa Singh Ahluvalia**. Because **Ranjit Singh** regarded him with favor, the state was permitted to retain a measure of independence even though it lay within the Doaba, a part of Ranjit Singh's territory. When the Doaba was taken over by the British in 1846 following the first Anglo-Sikh war, **Kapurthala** retained its limited independence and continued as a princely state until the British departure. After **Partition** it merged with other princely states to form the **Patiala** and Eastern Punjab States Union (**PEPSU**).

See also ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB.

KARĀ. The iron or steel ring that **Sikhs** of the **Khalsa** wear around the right wrist. It is one of the **Five Ks**.

KARĀH PRASĀD. “[Sacramental] food prepared in a karahi.” A *karāhī* is a large shallow iron dish used for boiling confections and other food. Karah prasād is distributed to every participant in a gurdwara at the conclusion of ordinary worship or of any special ritual, such as an *akhaṇḍ pāṭh*, *amrit sanskāṛ*, or *anand kāraj*. It may be offered by an individual worshiper who then retains a portion, the remainder being distributed to others. The actual origins of the practice are uncertain, though it has presumably been taken over from the Hindu custom of offering prasād in temple worship. The connection with an iron utensil suggests that the Sikh karah variety of prasād must have developed as a **Khalsa** ritual and that it should be traced no further back than the beginning of the 18th century. There is, however, a reference in the first *vār* of Bhai Gurdas, which may indicate that it dates from the 16th century. Karah prasād is prepared with equal parts of coarsely refined wheat flour (*āṭā*), clarified butter (*ghī*), and raw sugar (*gur*), with water added. While it is being prepared, *bāṇī* is sung or recited. It is then brought into the presence of the **Guru Granth Sahib**, and the six appointed verses of **Anand Sahib** are read. **Ardas** is recited, and finally the karah prasād is touched with a **kirpan** to signify that it is duly sanctified. It may then be distributed. Other portions that are brought to the **gurdwara** during the day may be added to it.

KARAM (KARMA). The destiny or fate of an individual generated in accordance with the deeds performed in present and past lives. The **Gurus** affirmed karam but taught that it could be overcome by regular meditation on the divine **Name**.

KARAMVĪR. “Man of Action.” An occasional epithet of **Guru Gobind Singh**.

KĀR BHEṬ. A voluntary offering given to the **Guru** by a pious devotee. In the **Sikh** tradition these are usually offerings composed of what one has earned through honest labor. This *bheṭ* was often spent on selfless service works such as the *gurū kā laṅgar*, or the building of gurdwaras.

KAREVĀ. Widow remarriage. In some **castes**, when a husband dies, the widow is remarried to a brother of the deceased. The custom has been widely followed among **Jats**.

See also GENDER.

KARHALE. Literally “camels” in Sindhi. This is the title of two compositions of **Guru Ram Das** in *rāg gaurī pūrābī* in which the mind is compared to camels roaming around from place to place.

KARORSINGHIA MISL. A **misl** that had territory around Hoshiarpur. It was also known as the Karoria misl.

KĀR-SEVĀ. “Work service.” Work that is undertaken without pay for some large task in the service of the **Panth**. The construction of a **gurdwara** would be an example. A special *kār-sevā* is the desilting of the pool surrounding **Harimandir** in **Amritsar** every 50 years. **Sikhs** from all walks of life consider it an honor to participate in cleaning the pool.

KARTĀR (KARTĀ, KARTĀ PURUKH). “Creator.” A term commonly applied to **God**, although in 18th-century **literature** one also discovers such terms used for the Sikh Gurus, especially **Guru Gobind Singh**.

KARTARPUR. There are two towns of this name. One is on the right bank of the Ravi River, directly opposite **Dehra Baba Nanak**, and was founded by **Guru Nanak**. The other is in Jalandhar District, the town settled by **Dhir Mal**, which is where the **Kartarpur** volume of the **Adi Granth** is located.

KARTĀRPUR BĪR. “Kartarpur volume.” The master draft of the **Adi Granth** held in Kartarpur. It is believed to be the copy dictated by **Guru Arjan** in 1603 and 1604 to his amanuensis, Bhai **Gurdas**. This origin is disputed by some scholars.

See also ADI GRANTH BANNO RECENSION.

KARTAR SINGH JHABBAR (1874–1962). A major figure in the **Gurdwara Reform Movement**, Jhabbar was also involved in protests against the **Jallianwala Bagh** massacre. He was jailed on numerous occasions.

KATHĀ. “Homily.” A discourse, normally strongly hortatory, on a passage from **Sikh** scripture, an anecdote from the **janam-sakhis**, or from traditional **Sikh** history. In most cases the source of *kathā* is Santokh Singh’s *Sūraj Prakāsh*.

KATHĀKAR. One who delivers *kathā*.

KAUKAB-I INQLĀB-I PANJĀB. “The Star of the Prosperity of the Punjab.” This is perhaps the most famous medal of honor crafted by the court of **Maharaja Ranjit Singh**. It is highly likely, although it is not clearly stated, that the medal itself was not created at the suggestion of **Henry Fane**, the British commander-in-chief who had come to the **Lahore Darbar** to attend the wedding of Ranjit Singh’s son **Nau Nihal Singh** in 1837, as **Sohan Lal Suri** implies in his *Umdātuttawārīkh*. It seems highly unlikely that Fane

would suggest basing this medal on a French precedent, the French Legion of Honour medal. It is rather more probable to assume that the medal's construction was inspired by the maharaja's French general **Jean François Al-lard**, who was actually awarded the French Legion of Honour by Napoleon Bonaparte. That the maharaja would later grant this order of merit to **Charles Auckland** is perhaps a more textured and resistive form of giving than contemporary Sikh scholarship suggests.

KAUR. All female **Amrit-dharis** must add Kaur to their first name. As the custom is also followed by **Kes-dharis** and those of **Khalsa** background, the name is thus borne by a large majority of female Sikhs. Etymologically it derived from the Rajput term **kanvar**, or “prince,” and was used for persons of status. The usage that applied it to all Khalsa women was not introduced until the time of the **Singh Sabha** in the early 20th century. The first **rahit-nama** to include it was **Sikh Rahit Marayada**.

See also AMRIT SANSKĀR; IDENTITY; NAMING CEREMONY; SAHIB DEVI (?–1734).

KAUR, BIBI JAGIR. *See* JAGIR KAUR (1954–).

KAURA MAL (?–1752). A **Sahaj-dhari Sikh** who served under **Mir Mannu**, remembered by the Sikhs as *Miṭṭhā* (“sweet”) Mal instead of *Kaurā* (“bitter”) Mal because of favors toward them.

KES (KESH). Uncut hair. One of the **Five Ks**.

KESARI CHAND (?–1700). The raja of Jaswan and confidant of **Bhim Chand** of Bilaspur. He fought in the Battles of **Bhangani** and **Anandpur** and was killed in the latter.

KESAR SINGH CHHIBBAR. A member of the Chhibbar **Brahman** family that enjoyed power in the retinue of **Guru Gobind Singh**. Author of *Bansāvalī-nāmā dasān pātshāhīān dā*, completed in 1769. This is an account of the **Gurus** from the author's point of view, biased by the family's loss of influence to the militant **Khalsa**. He gives the date of the founding of the Khalsa as 1696.

KES-DHĀRĪ (KESH-DHĀRĪ). “One who wears hair [uncut].” **Sikhs** are generally identified by uncut hair (*kes*, or kesh). Not all Sikhs can be recognized in this way, however, for the **Khalsa** rule forbidding the cutting of hair is not accepted by every Sikh. **Kes-dhari Sikhs** are those who do keep their hair uncut, forming an indeterminate majority of the **Panth**. The men are

easily recognized by their distinctive **turbans**. Kes-dharis are generally (if loosely) regarded as the Khalsa, but only a small minority of them actually take initiation into the Khalsa. The remainder do not necessarily observe all of the **Rahit**, though they do retain their hair. All **Amrit-dhari Sikhs** (those who have taken initiation) are also Kes-dhari, but only some Kes-dhari are also Amrit-dhari.

See also IDENTITY.

KESGARH SAHIB. The most famous **gurdwara** in **Anandpur Sahib**, overlooking the place where **Guru Gobind Singh** inaugurated the **Khalsa**. One of the five **takhats** is located at Kesgarh Sahib.

KESKĪ. A small under-turban, approximately one-quarter the length of a normal **turban**, worn by a **Kes-dhari** male when he is not appearing in public. The *keskī* may also be worn during sleep. A Kes-dhari who is fully dressed commonly retains it under his turban, with a small portion showing where the two sides of the turban meet on the upper forehead. In such cases it is normally of a different color. **Amrit-dharis** are permitted to wear *keskīs*. A few **Sikhs**, principally those of the **Akhand Kirtani Jatha**, hold that the **kes** is not one of the **Five Ks** that all Amrit-dhari Sikhs must wear, substituting instead the *keskī* for **women** as well as men.

KEYS AFFAIR. An incident in the **Gurdwara Reform Movement** that took place in 1921. The district commissioner of **Amritsar** decided that he would demand the keys of the **Golden Temple** treasury from the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee** and entrust them to his own nominee. The seizure created a considerable disturbance, and the governor of the **Punjab** consequently backed down and returned the keys.

KHADUR. The home village of **Angad** and the **Sikh** center during his period as **Guru**. It is in **Amritsar** District, near the right bank of the Beas River.

KHALĀSĀ SIKH. A term used for **Sahaj-dharis** in the 18th and early 19th centuries.

KHALISTAN. The name adopted for a sovereign **Sikh** state, independent of India. It has not been granted. There has been much debate about the prospect of Khalistan, not the least of which concerns territory, borders, laws, status of non-Sikhs, and many other such issues. Much of the rhetoric regarding Khalistan actually occurs outside of India, particularly within the **United States**, **Canada**, and the **United Kingdom**.

KHALISTAN COMMANDO FORCE (KCF). A guerrilla organization formed during the disturbances following the storming of the **Golden Temple** in 1984. It had connections with the **Damdami Taksal** and **All India Sikh Students' Federation**. In 1988 it was seriously weakened by betrayal and by the consequent killing of its commander Labh Singh.

See also KHALISTAN.

KHĀLSĀ. The order instituted by **Guru Gobind Singh**, certainly on **Baisakhi** Day (the first day of the Indian year) and probably in 1699 (though this date is disputed). The traditional reason given for its founding was the **Guru's** decision to provide his followers with a militant and highly visible identity, essential if they were to withstand imminent trials. Evil men had arisen, with the result that **God** was about to intervene. The Khalsa was to be the means of intervention.

To this a supplementary reason needs to be added. The Guru was determined to have a united following, an objective that was being frustrated by the **masands**. They were to be disestablished, and all **Sikhs** would be required to pay their fealty direct to the Guru.

Although the word *khālsā* derives from the Arabic/Persian *khālisah* (pure), a secondary meaning that had come to apply within the **Mughal** empire was "lands under the emperor's direct control." Some Sikhs were already under the immediate control of the Guru and remitted their offerings directly to him. All were now commanded to come under his direct control, renouncing their obedience to the masands. They were, in other words, to join his Khalsa. In doing so they joined a militant order with a rigorous discipline and showed absolute loyalty to its master.

The Khalsa still continues, its membership being the mark of a truly orthodox Sikh. Entry into it is by a ceremony of initiation known as **amrit sanskāṛ**. Only a small minority of Sikhs actually undergo initiation, but those who do (the **Amrit-dharis** or the **Gursikhs**) are generally regarded as full-fledged Sikhs. The word is also used to designate any individual member of the Khalsa.

See also KHALSA DATE; KHALSA INAUGURATION; KHĀLSĀ JĪ KĀ BOL-BALĀ; KHANDE DĪ PĀHUL.

THE KHALSA. Short-lived Sikh newspaper in English produced by **Bhagat Laksham Singh**.

KHALSA ADVOCATE. The English newspaper begun in 1902 that was the English equivalent of the *Khālsā Samāchār*, conveying the ideology of the **Chief Khalsa Divan**.

KHĀLSĀ AKHBĀR. The **Khalsa** newspaper in **Punjabi** that began in the late 1880s and became the voice of the **Tat Khalsa**.

KHALSA COLLEGE. Khalsa College in **Amritsar** was the leading **Sikh** educational institution until the founding of **Punjabi University** in 1962. The decision to establish it was made in 1883. After tussling for control, the **Sanatan Sikhs** and the **Tat Khalsa** both agreed that they needed the other, and a **Khalsa** school was opened in 1893. In 1897 Khalsa College was begun with an English principal, and although in the first years it was very unstable, by 1905 its future was assured. For its foundation it depended on donations from some wealthy supporters of the Sanatan cause. As Khalsa College stabilized, however, it became a clearly Tat Khalsa institution. It expressed the conviction, born of the British example, that every community in India needed premiere educational institutions to symbolize its strength and to prepare its young men for the future. In 1920 it refused a grant from the government, thus freeing itself from government control. It is now a college of **Guru Nanak Dev University**.

KHALSA DATE. The date of the inauguration of the **Khalsa** has caused much perplexity. **Kuir Singh** gives a date that corresponds to 1689; **Sainapati** and **Ratan Singh Bhangu** give 1695; **Kesar Singh Chhibbar** gives 1696; and **Chaupa Singh** gives 1697. This evidence is contested by the historian Bute Shah who, writing in the middle of the 19th century, claimed that a newswriter, sent by the emperor **Aurangzeb** to observe the event, names **Baisakhi Day 1756** (1699 C.E.). Bute Shah is, however, much too late to be acceptable. **Baisakhi Day 1756** (1699 C.E.) is first mentioned in an extant source by **Sukkha Singh** almost one hundred years later, in 1797. The date is strongly supported, however, by the modern historian **Ganda Singh** in articles and by his interpretation of certain **hukam-namas**. The academic issue has not been definitively settled, but there can be no doubt concerning the corporate view of the **Panth**. **Baisakhi Day 1699** is definitely the approved date.

KHĀLSĀ DHARAM SHĀSTR. A Sikh code of conduct by the Sanatan Sikh reformer **Avtar Singh Vahiria**, completed in 1914.

KHALSA DIVAN AMRITSAR. An organization established in 1883 to administer the efforts of the various **Singh Sabhas**. Baba **Khem Singh Bedi** was its first president and **Gurmukh Singh** its chief secretary. Tension arising from the gudaila controversy and the **Amritsar Singh Sabha**'s support of the return of **Dalip Singh** caused rifts between its members, some of whom went on to form the **Khalsa Divan Lahore**.

KHALSA DIVAN LAHORE. Established in 1886 by the more progressive **Sikhs** of the Lahore **Singh Sabha** who eventually became known as the **Tat Khalsa**.

KHALSA DIVAN MALAYA. A society of Southeast Asian Sikhs that was created in 1903 during the birth anniversary celebration of **Guru Gobind Singh**. The spirit of the **Tat Khalsa** seemed to permeate the organization's membership as it was limited to **Amrit-dhari** Sikhs who maintained the *bāṇā*, or dress, of the **Khalsa** and abided by its prescriptions and proscriptions. Eventually a rift occurred between its members, likely exacerbated by news of the **Jallianwala Bagh** massacre. This led to the creation of another divan within Malaya in 1918 that embraced the non-cooperative stance of the **Central Sikh League** and **Akalis**.

KHALSA DIVAN VANCOUVER. Formed in 1909 with the aim of broadcasting the Sikh way of life. Within this mandate was the responsibility of maintaining **gurdwaras** in **Canada** and appointing *updeshaks* and *prachāraks*, or traveling preachers.

KHĀLSĀ GAZETTE. An Urdu weekly newspaper begun in 1885 and edited for a time by **Maya Singh**.

KHALSA INAUGURATION. Probably on **Baisakhi** Day 1699 (the first day of the new year corresponding to March 30) **Guru Gobind Singh** summoned his **Sikhs** to his center at **Anandpur** for what turned out to be the most important event in Sikh history—the inauguration of the **Khalsa**, the militant order that Sikhs have ever since been encouraged to join. Much that happened on that Baisakhi Day is still subject to research. Two things, however, can be positively affirmed. Sikhs who joined the Khalsa were thereafter required to keep their hair uncut and were to carry arms. According to tradition, the **Guru** appeared with drawn **sword** before his followers, gathered for the Baisakhi festival, and demanded the head of a loyal Sikh. A Sikh called Daya Singh eventually volunteered and was conducted behind a screen to be dispatched. Four more volunteers were then required, and they too were taken behind the screen. With five victims apparently dispatched, the Guru revealed that none of them had in fact been slain. One version claims that five goats were killed instead. The Guru was merely testing their loyalty in order to form the nucleus of his new order. These five (the **Panj Piare**, or “Cherished Five”) had thereby proven themselves. The Guru then held an initiation ceremony for the Panj Piare, followed by the same ceremony for all Sikhs who were prepared to undertake the discipline of the Khalsa.

See also AMRIT-DHĀRĪ; AMRIT SANSKĀR; BAISAKHĪ; KHALSA DATE.

KHĀLSĀ JĪ KĀ BOL-BALĀ. The welfare, prosperity, of the **Khalsa**. Given as the **Panth**'s highest aspiration in the **Anandpur Resolution**.

KHĀLSĀ MAHIMĀ. "Praise of the **Khalsa**." Although the Khalsa Mahima is perhaps the most famous portion of the **Sarab Loh Granth**, it is also a composition that is inserted into the **Dasam Granth**, just after the 33 Savaiky-ye (Dasam Granth, p. 716). The closing line of the third *savaikyā*, *mohi grahi maim man te tan te sir lau dhan hai sabh hī inhī ko*, "In my house my entire being and all of my wealth, all belongs to them," appeared on the banner of the *Akālī* newspaper during its initial publication run in the early 1920s.

See also LITERATURE.

KHĀLSĀ NĀMAH. A Persian manuscript prepared by Bakht Mall and completed in 1814 that deals with the lives of the **Sikh Gurus**, the war of succession between **Aurangzeb**'s sons, the death of **Guru Gobind Singh**, and the period of **Banda**, among others.

See also LITERATURE.

KHALSA PARLIAMENT. *See* BHASOUR SINGH SABHA.

KHALSA PRACHARAK VIDYALA, TARN TARAN. Created in 1906 to instruct young men in Sikh ideology and ritual practices, such as the singing of *kīrtan*. Its first secretary was the famous and prolific Bhai **Mohan Singh Vaid**.

KHALSA UPDESHAK MAHAVIDYALA. An institution whose aim was to train **Sikh** upadeshaks, or preachers. It was created in 1901 in Gharjakh near Gujranwala.

KHĀLSĀ RAHIT PRAKĀSH. A *rahit-nama* produced by Babu **Teja Singh of the Bhasaur Singh Sabha** that gave expression to his fundamentalist views of the **Khalsa Rahit**.

KHĀLSĀ SAMĀCHĀR. A newspaper begun in **Amritsar** in 1899 that became the voice of the **Chief Khalsa Divan**.

KHĀLSĀ TANAKHĀHS. There are four *tanakhāhs* that an initiated **Khalsa Sikh** must vow never to commit: showing disrespect to one's hair (by cutting it), eating *kutṭhā* meat, engaging in sexual intercourse with any per-

son other than one's spouse, and using tobacco (smoking or chewing). The Khalsa Sikh who commits any of these *kurahits* is obliged to seek the forgiveness of his *saṅgat*, discharge the penance laid on him, and then seek reinitiation.

KHALSA TRACT SOCIETY. Founded by **Vir Singh** in **Amritsar** in 1894, it published pamphlets on themes of interest to the **Tat Khalsa**. Simply written and cheaply produced, they secured a wide distribution. Most of the pamphlets were actually written by Vir Singh. Christian publications provided the model.

KHAṆḌ. *See* PAÑJ KHAṆḌ.

KHAṆḌĀ. (1) A two-edged sword. To **Guru Gobind Singh**, the khanda represented **God** and it is held in great reverence by the **Khalsa**. (2) The modern insignia of the Khalsa comprising a vertical two-edged sword over a quoit (*chakkar*), with two crossed sabers (*kirpān*) below the quoit. During the late 19th century the emblem apparently consisted of a cooking vessel, a *kaṭār* dagger, and a saber, corresponding to the Khalsa slogan “*deg tegh fateh*.” It seems that this evolved into the modern insignia in the early 20th century, the round cooking vessel becoming a quoit. Today the emblem is displayed on the Khalsa flag, **turbans**, buttonholes, building decorations, publications, car windows, and so on.

KHAṆḌE DĪ PĀHUL. “Initiation by the sword.” Initiation into the **Khalsa**. When administering initiation to a candidate, water (*pāhul*, or *pad-jal*, literally, “foot water”) must be stirred with a two-edged sword (*khaṇḍā*).

See also AMRIT SANSKĀR; CHARAN-AMRIT.

KHARAK SINGH, BABA (1867–1963). Prominent leader of the **Sikhs** during the 1920s in the **Central Sikh League** and later in the **Congress**. In the early 1920s he was active in the **Gurdwara Reform Movement**. During the 1930s he formed his own group, the **Central Akali Dal**, in opposition to the **Shiromani Akali Dal**. In the latter period he commanded little influence. Kharak Singh was an **Ahluvalia**.

KHARAK SINGH, MAHARAJA (1803–1840). The eldest son of **Ranjit Singh**, he was poorly trained to succeed his father. In 1839 he became maharaja but left administration to his son, **Nau Nihal Singh**. He died as a result of opium consumption in 1840.

KHARI BOLI. The language that in **Guru Nanak**'s day was spoken around **Delhi**. It is closely related to modern Hindi.

KHĀS PĀTRĀ. These are very special pages inserted within manuscripts of the **Dasam Granth**, handwritten by **Guru Gobind Singh**.

KHATIMAH. "Epilogue." A Persian composition of 21 couplets that concludes the *Tausīf o Sanā'* (Description and Praise) attributed to Bhai **Nand Lal Goya**. These concluding couplets are an encomium to the **Sikh Panth** and the **Khalsa**, praising them by drawing upon predominantly Indic elements such as the **Hindu** gods, the Puranas, Shastras, and the Veda.

See also LITERATURE.

KHATRI CASTE. A high-ranking caste (*zāt*) in the **Punjab**, occupying a position at or near the top of the Punjab's urban hierarchy. The name is the **Punjabi** form of Kshatriya, the **Khatris** claiming that they were warriors who took to trade. In their traditional occupation they command the better positions and are commonly found in large industry, banks, and insurance companies. Many Khatris traveled to distant places in pursuit of trade, and early **Sikh saṅgats** in widely scattered locations were really Khatri foundations. They have also been very prominent in culture and education. The vast majority of Khatris have remained Hindus, only a little more than 2 percent of all Sikhs belonging to the caste. They have, however, had an influence on the life of the **Panth** far greater than their numbers would suggest (particularly on education and the professions). When contracting marriages, Khatri generally marries Khatri. Most Khatri Sikh families have no inhibitions about marrying their children to Hindus of the same caste. All the **Gurus** were Khatris by caste.

See also GURU-VANS; KHATRI GOT ORGANIZATION.

KHATRI GOT ORGANIZATION. The **Khatri caste** has, by tradition, a complicated internal organization. In their **got** organization the *zāt* is internally divided into several endogamous units. The principal division is the traditional *chār bārah bavañjāh* or 4:12:52 convention. Four got's claiming a particularly elevated status observe endogamy; 12 more of intermediate status similarly constitute a separate endogamous grouping; and the remainder (notionally 52 in number) together form a third. The superior grouping comprises the Mehra/Malhotra, Kapur, Khanna, and Seth got's. Other patterns of precedence are maintained and other restricted endogamies have emerged within the third category, the most famous of which is the fourfold grouping of got's that produced the 10 **Sikh Gurus**. These are the **Bedi**, **Trehan**, **Bhalla**, and **Sodhi** got's. No Sikh got claims a higher status than that of the

Bedis. The stratification thus generated within traditional Khatri society today shows clear signs of decreasing as its members form marriage alliances across the 4:12:52 lines and as they transgress caste altogether and marry **Aroras**, another mercantile caste.

KHEM SINGH BEDI (1832–1905). A direct descendant of **Guru Nanak** and one of the founders of the **Singh Sabha** in 1873. As a **Sanatan Sikh** who maintained that there were no essential differences between **Sikhs** and Hindus, he was opposed by reformers of the **Tat Khalsa** persuasion. He had, however, a considerable following in northwest **Punjab**, where his descent and considerable charisma brought him many devotees. In fact, we are told by **Bhagat Lakshman Singh** in his autobiography that Khem Singh was sometimes referred to as the 12th Nanak.

KHIDRANA. *See* MUKTSAR.

KHIVI (?– 1582). A **Khatri** of **Khadur**, wife of **Guru Angad**.

See also WIVES OF THE GURUS.

KHULĀSATUTTAVĀRĪKH. A Persian chronicle prepared by the *munshī*, or professional scribe, Sujan Rai Bhandari. Completed in 1696, the text includes relatively lengthy accounts of the **Sikhs**, especially of **Guru Nanak**, as well as a very generous description of the Sikhs of Sujan Rai's own days.

See also LITERATURE.

KHULLĀ PĀṬH. A complete reading of the **Guru Granth Sahib** in an indefinite period with no preordained date for the **bhog** ceremony.

See also SADHĀRAN PĀṬH.

KHUSHAL SINGH, BHAİ (1862–1945). A Sikh virtuoso, blind at birth, who taught *gur-bāñī* and *kīrtan* to students who were physically challenged.

KHUSHWANT SINGH (1915–2014). Modern **Sikh** historian, journalist, and novelist. Author of the famous work on the Partition of the Punjab, *Train to Pakistan*, and the equally famous two-volume *A History of the Sikhs*.

See also LITERATURE.

KHUSRAU, MIRZA (1587–1622). Grandson of the emperor **Akbar** and the eldest son of **Jahangir**, who rebelled against his father. The traditional story told of Khusrau in Sikh sources is generally a problematic one involving as it does caricatures of **Jahangir** as an intolerant Muslim who longed for the throne of his father, Akbar. Brought up in the liberal tradition of his

grandfather, Khusrau, so the story goes, was embraced by the more moderate exponents of Akbar's **darbar**, including Khusrau's own father-in-law Mirza Aziz Koka. They saw in Khusrau an able successor while in Jahangir they only saw a prince far too addicted to wine and opium and overly friendly with the conservative Islamic elements of the more cosmopolitan court of Akbar. Ultimately Khusrau rebelled, and it is at this point that the Sikhs, particularly **Guru Arjan**, enter the story. Claims vary as to Guru Arjan's role, but it is clear that Jahangir thought that the Fifth Guru supported Khusrau's claim since he states as much in his *Jahangir-nāmah*. Jahangir also strongly implies that it was this support, and not the Guru's particular religious tradition (or so one infers), that persuaded the emperor to execute Guru Arjan. Khusrau would be quickly captured after his apparent meeting with the Guru and later blinded. In 1622 he would be executed by his younger brother **Khurram**, who would himself go on to rebel against Jahangir and proclaim himself **Shah Jahan**.

KHWAJA KHIZAR. A legendary Muslim saint worshiped as the river god in the **Punjab**. According to the **Puratan janam-sakhis**, **Guru Nanak** discoursed with Khwaja Khizar.

KHWAJA MARDUD. The "cowardly *khwājā* [master]." The pseudonymous antagonist of **Guru Gobind Singh** who was berated for his cowardly actions in the Tenth Guru's Persian epistle, the **Zafar-namah** (lines 34–35).

"KIKKAR" SINGH PAHILVAN (1857–1914). One of the great **Sikh** wrestlers of the **Punjab**, whose name was originally Prem Singh. He was called Kikkar, however, because, so legend has it, he uprooted a kikkar tree with his bare hands.

KINSHIP. Broad kinship relationships are very important to **Sikhs** (as to other Indians). Every individual is, in theory, a member of a joint family, a *birādarī*, a *got*, and a *zāt*. The number of familial words (much larger than in English) testifies to this importance. Descent for the Sikhs is patrilineal, and marriages link two groups of kin rather than two individuals.

KIRATPUR. A village in the **Shivalik Hills**, situated by the Satluj River overlooking the plains. **Guru Hargobind** acquired it in some manner, perhaps from the raja of Bilaspur, and retired there when conflict with the **Mughal** authorities made the plains too dangerous. His successor, **Guru Har Rai**, was compelled to abandon it and move farther into the safety of the

Shivaliks. **Guru Tegh Bahadur** returned to it but soon left and moved five miles northeast along the Shivaliks to the village of Makhoval, which he rebuilt and renamed **Anandpur**.

See also MUGHAL RELATIONS.

KIRPAL CHAND. The brother of Mata **Gujari**. He achieved prominence as a member of the retinue of **Guru Gobind Singh**.

KIRPAL DAS. An **Udasi Sikh** who was with **Guru Gobind Singh** at **Paonta Sahib**, according to the **Bachitar Natak**, who took part in the Battle of **Bhangani**. The *Natak* states that Kirpal Das, a novice in the art of warfare, killed the terrible warrior **Hayat Khan**.

KIRPAL SINGH (1923–1990). The famous artist whose paintings are in many ways the artistic equivalent of popular **Sikh** history, capturing as these do the great battles, sacrifices, and martyrdoms that dominate the Sikh narratives of 18th-century Sikh history.

See also ART.

KIRPAL SINGH BHALLA. Said to be the author of the ***Mahimā Prakāsh Vāratak***, alleged to have been completed in the mid-18th century. His name is also given as Kirpal Das Bhalla.

KIRPĀN. The sword or poniard that is carried by members of the **Khalsa**. One of the **Five Ks**. Fierce controversy has erupted from time to time over the right to wear the **kirpan** and the size required. In general, six to nine inches in total length is regarded as satisfactory, though many **Sikhs** wear miniatures less than one inch in length attached to the *kañghā*. The terms “dagger” and “knife” are commonly regarded as demeaning translations.

KIRPĀN MORCHĀ. Under the Indian Arms Act of 1878, section 11, **Sikhs** were denied the right to carry the **kirpan**. By the early 1920s, a number of Sikh organizations, the most prominent of which was the **Chief Khalsa Divan**, requested that the government allow the kirpan to be registered as an exception so that Sikhs would be permitted to carry it. During World War I the British government in India relaxed this restriction. During the **Gurdwara Reform Movement**, however, the issue reemerged and Sikhs carrying kirpans were tried and jailed. The Kirpan Morcha was the Sikh response to this treatment, and during it, from 1921 to 1922, the kirpan, along with a black turban, became the symbol of Sikh resistance. A compromise was

reached between the government and the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee** on the issue: Sikhs can carry kirpans but can only unsheathe these when performing religious rituals.

KĪRTAN. The corporate singing of devotional songs. For **Sikhs**, these are normally compositions from the **Adi Granth**. This is specific if the practice is known as *shabad* kirtan. Shabads are sung in the various *rāgs* represented in the compositions of the **Adi Granth**, their character depending on the time of day and the mood of the *saṅgat*. Kirtan *darbārs*, or sessions, in which those who have gathered sing kirtan are commonly held.

See also MUSIC.

KĪRTAN SOHILĀ. *See* SOHILĀ or KĪRTAN SOHILĀ.

KOER SINGH. *See* KUIR SINGH.

KOH-I NŪR. “The Mountain of Light.” Name of the famous diamond that first enters the historical record in the autobiography of Zahiruddin **Babur**, the *Babur-nāmah*, in which it is said that this gem was discovered in the treasury of Sikandar Lodhi at Agra in 1526. Likely mined originally from the mines of Golconda, the diamond has a fascinating history of movement between India, Iran, and Afghanistan, eventually returning to India into the hands of **Maharaja Ranjit Singh** in 1813. The diamond afterward passed into the care of the maharaja’s family when it was presented to the British monarch, Victoria, by the maharaja’s son, **Dalip Singh**. Today the diamond, recut after its exhibit in London in 1851, may be seen within the crown of the British consort that is housed in the Tower of London.

KOMAGATA MARU. Early in the 20th century, the **Canadian** government, concerned by increasing immigration from India, decreed that all prospective entrants must come from their own country by means of a “continuous journey.” The Canadian parliament was still subject to limitation by the British government, and since India was a part of the British Empire, overt discrimination was not allowed. Covertly, however, this was possible, and as no shipping line sailed direct from India to Canada without transshipping, the “continuous journey” provision was acceptable. This still permitted Sikhs to sail from East Asian ports, but ship owners were aware that no **Sikhs** would be allowed to land.

Gurdit Singh, a Singapore businessman, thwarted this by chartering a ship (the *Komagata Maru*) and sailing it from Hong Kong to Vancouver, where it arrived on 23 May 1914. On board it carried 376 Indians, all but 30 of them Sikhs. Permission to land was refused (except for 22 who were able

to prove Canadian domicile), and a two-month legal battle ensued. The government of British Columbia was clearly in the wrong, but it held to its view. In the end, threatened by a cruiser and with provisions exhausted, Gurdit Singh had to weigh anchor and sail to Calcutta.

When the *Komagata Maru* berthed there, the British ordered all its passengers to board a train for the **Punjab**. Gurdit Singh and his followers refused to obey and left the ship, carrying the **Guru Granth Sahib** in procession. The police opened fire, killing 18. Gurdit Singh and 28 others escaped and went into hiding. The remainder were captured and sent up to the Punjab, most of them to be interned there. In Canada the *Komagata Maru* incident is still well remembered by the Sikhs.

KOTHA SAHIB. The room in **Akal Takhat** where the **Guru Granth Sahib**, installed in the **Golden Temple** by day, is laid to rest at night.

KRODH. “Wrath.” One of the five evils.

KUCHAJJĪ. “The awkward woman.” The title of one of **Guru Nanak**’s compositions in *rāg sūhī*, which is followed by its antithesis, *suchajjī*, “the accomplished woman.”

KUIR SINGH. Alleged author of *Gur-bilās Pātshāhī 10*, the heroic story of **Guru Gobind Singh**. Although the work claims an 18th-century origin, it was actually written in the early or mid-19th century.

See also DEVI WORSHIP; GUR-BILĀS.

KUKA SIKHS. *See* NAMDHARI.

KUNDALĪNĪ. The term *kundalīni* has been inherited from the **Nath tradition**. Sikhs, however, believe that it refers to a person’s spiritual being benefiting from contact with **gurmukhs** (the **sadh sangat**). The followers of **Yogi Bhajan** (members of the **3HO**) call their discipline kundalini yoga.

See also SIKH DHARMA OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

KUNVARESH. One of the poets in the Tenth Master’s literary **darbar**, author of the *Droṇa Parva*, an interpretation of the Mahabharata’s portion on Dronacharya.

See also LITERATURE.

KURAHIT. Violation of the **Rahit**, or “serious sin.” The modern Rahit, as set out in **Sikh Rahit Marayada**, specifies four prohibitions, or *kurahits*, that are particularly serious for **Amrit-dhari** Sikhs: cutting one’s hair, eating

meat that is **kuṭṭhā**, having sexual intercourse with anyone other than one's spouse, and using **tobacco**. Anyone who commits any of these cardinal sins must confess and then be reinitiated. Three of the prohibitions were included in the 18th-century Rahit. The sexual intercourse item, however, is evidently a modern development from the 18th-century prohibition of intercourse with Muslim women.

KURĪ-MĀR. *See* FEMALE INFANTICIDE.

KUṬṬHĀ. Animals killed according to Muslim law (halal meat). One of the four **kurahits** that **Sikhs** of the **Khalsa** must swear at initiation to avoid. The purpose of making this a kurahit was clearly to distinguish Sikhs from their enemies, the Muslims. Meat is halal when the animal has been allowed to bleed to death while the Muslim confession of faith is recited. Sikhs of the **Khalsa** may consume meat only from an animal that has been killed with a single blow (**jhaṭkā**).

L

LABANA. *See* LUBANA.

LABH SINGH, BABU (1895–1947). Sikh politician who became actively involved in the **Gurdwara Reform Movement** because of the massacre at **Nankana Sahib** in 1921. He would remain active in Sikh politics until his death.

LACHHMAN SINGH GILL (1917–1969). Chief minister of **Punjab**, 1967–1968.

LAHINA (1504–1552). A **Trehan Khatri** of **Khadur** who became a disciple of **Nanak**. He was later renamed **Angad** and succeeded Nanak as the Second **Guru** of the **Sikhs** in 1539.

LAHORE. The chief city of undivided **Punjab** whose fame as a center of Islamic learning goes back to the time of Mahmud of Ghazni and Shaikh Hujwiri, author of the famous **Sufi** treatise, the *Kashfulmahjūb*, “The Unveiling of the Hidden.” Lahore became famous as a **Sikh** place of learning because of its association with **Ranjit Singh** and his **darbar**, which was headquartered at Lahore. Lahore thus became Ranjit Singh’s capital city as well as that of his successors. Lahore has many shrines sacred to the Sikhs, among them **Dera Sahib** and **Shahidganj**.

LAKH. 100,000. One hundred lakhs equal a **crore**.

LAKHI JUNGLE. A wasteland south of Firozpur where the **Khalsa** sheltered during periods of persecution in the 18th century. The sheltering likely had to do with the fact that the area was a well-known ground of horse traders.

LAKHMI DAS (trad. 1497–1555). One of the two sons of **Guru Nanak**, traditionally believed to have opposed his father's appointment of **Angad** as Second **Guru**. His descendants continue to this day.

See also GURU-VANS; SIRI CHAND (trad. 1494–1629).

LAKHPAT RAI (?–1748). A chief minister of **Lahore** under the **Mughal** governor **Zakariya Khan**, noted for persecuting the **Khalsa**. In 1738 he had the custodian of **Harimandir Sahib**, **Mani Singh**, executed. Under Zakariya Khan's successor, Yahya Khan, he continued his vigorous persecution, and in 1746 he killed several thousand **Sikhs** near Gurdaspur in the **Chhota Ghallughara**.

LAKKHI SHAH. *See* RAKAB-GANJ GURDWARA.

LAKSHMAN SINGH, BHAGAT (1863–1944). A prominent if uncritical writer in the time of the **Singh Sabha**. Author of *Guru Govind Singh, Sikh Martyrs*, and a useful *Autobiography*. Lakhshman Singh also published a short-lived newspaper in English called *The Khalsa*.

LALO. According to later **janam-sakhi** tradition, **Nanak** once stayed in **Saidpur** with a low-caste carpenter named Lalo. A rich **Khatri**, Malik Bhago, wished to know why the **Guru** had not stayed with him. In reply Nanak took a portion of Lalo's coarse food in one hand and some of Bhago's rich fare in the other. When he squeezed them, milk issued from Lalo's food, and blood from Bhago's. The amazed Bhago at once fell at his feet and, giving away his ill-gotten gain, became his faithful **Sikh**.

LAL SINGH. Appointed vazir of the **Punjab** in 1845 by **Jindan**, with the understanding that he would help destroy the power of the populist leaders of the Punjab army. With **Tej Singh**, he secretly contacted the approaching British and aided them significantly in the first Anglo-Sikh war in 1845–1846.

See also ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB.

LAL SINGH, RAI BAHADUR (1860–1930). Lal Singh was a **Sikh** cartographer who accompanied the famous Aurel Stein during the latter's expedition to map the Silk Road connecting China with Central Asia. He was with Stein when the latter mapped the Taklamakan Mountains and discovered the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas at Duanhuang.

LAMMAN. In popular Sikh tradition Lamman is the village, often paired with nearby Jatpura (and so, Lamman-Jatpura), at which **Guru Gobind Singh** heard the news of his youngest sons' executions in **Sirhind**. Other Sikh traditions claim that it was from here that the Guru dispatched his first letter to **Aurangzeb**, the **Fateh-nama**. In one couplet of this letter (which may or may not have been prepared by the Tenth Master) there is only mention of two of the Guru's sons who were dead, not four.

LAṆGAR. The free kitchen and dining hall, or other provision for serving meals, that must be attached to all **gurdwaras**. The purpose was clearly to eliminate **caste** on the territory of the gurdwara and so to eliminate it as either a means or a hindrance to liberation. Everyone had to sit in the same status-free lines (*paṅgat*), and everyone had to take the food without knowing who had prepared it. The convention was borrowed from **Sufi** establishments (*khānqāhs*). Indeed, even the word *laṅgar* itself originates in the Persianate Sufi tradition, in which it means "anchor." It is not known for certain which **Guru** introduced the practice, but it was evidently present in the time of **Amar Das**. In smaller gurdwaras, the langar may operate only once a week; in the larger ones, every day. Gifts of produce and fuel are *sevā* to the Guru, as is unpaid time spent serving in the langar.

LANGUAGES. Sikhs attach a deeply affectionate importance to the **Punjabi** language and its **Gurmukhi** script. Although most of the **janam-sakhis** are recorded in Punjabi, the language of the **Adi Granth** is best described as **Sant Bhasha** (Sant language), or the Sacred Language of the Sikhs. The **Dasam Granth** is in the Gurmukhi script, but the language is predominantly **Braj** (the language of the Mathura region and the Krishna cycle). In the 19th century, **Sikh** literary usage swung strongly back to Punjabi. The **Dasam Granth** also contains the occasional Punjabi verse and works as well as Persian composition. Persian should also be understood as a "Sikh language" despite the admonition directed toward Sikhs who study this language associated with the oppressors of the Khalsa in certain 18th-century **Rahit** texts. Indeed, a small number of the Sikh tradition's most beloved texts were written in this language, although today almost all of these appear in the Gurmukhi script. Among these are included the **Zafar-nama** of **Guru Gobind Singh** and the **Hikayats**, as well as the compositions of **Bhai Nand Lal Goya**, most importantly his *Dīvān* and *Zindagī-nāmah*. More generous understandings would also include English in this roster since the most beautiful works of **Puran Singh** were produced in this language.

See also ADI GRANTH LANGUAGE; LITERATURE.

LAVĀN. The act of circumambulating a sacred fire (**Hindu** rite) or the scripture (Sikh rite) during a marriage ceremony. In **Anand Karaj**, the couple make four *lavan* round the **Adi Granth** while the four stanzas of **Guru Ram Das**'s *Sūhī Chhant* 2 (**Adi Granth**, pp. 773–774) are sung.

LAWRENCE, SIR HENRY MONTGOMERY (1806–1857). Administrator of the **Punjab** after its annexation by the British who was particularly benign in his dealings with the **Sikhs**. Part of the reason for such treatment was the fact that Lawrence, unlike his brother John Lawrence, had earlier met Sikhs (in 1839) and had admired them. After 1849, he treated the now-disbanded **Khalsa** army moderately, ultimately recommending that they be allowed to join the British army in India. Lawrence was killed during the Mutiny of 1857 while defending Lucknow.

LEATHER. Leather is commonly regarded as polluting in India, and leather workers are typically **Dalit Chamars**. Strict **Namdharis** will not drink tap water because it must pass over leather washers. This distaste for leather is sometimes carried over to **gurdwara** entry, many worshipers surrendering leather belts and women's handbags before entering. Soldiers and police may have to abandon their leather belts before entry. Opponents of this custom quote the instance of Bhai **Kahnaiya**, who dispensed water to friend and foe alike from a leather bag.

LEITNER, GOTLEIB WILHELM (1840–1899). A polyglot Hungarian Orientalist who in 1864 became principal of Government College, **Lahore**. While here he compiled data that allowed him to complete his famous *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab since Annexation* (1882), in which he discusses the content of Sikh indigenous education.

LEYDEN, JOHN CASPER (1775–1811). John Casper Leyden was born in Denholm, near Hawick in Scotland. An accomplished linguist, Leyden eventually became interested in the writings of the **Sikh Gurus** and translated into English portions of the **Bachitar Natak**, the **Gian Ratnavali**, and the **Prem Sumarg**. None of these translations have yet appeared in print.

LITERATURE. It should come as no surprise that literature plays a particularly significant role in the construction of **Sikh** identity and of the general Sikh imaginary. This is most obvious with the **Guru Granth Sahib**, which is believed to be the mystical textual embodiment of the spirit of the eternal Guru and the collective wisdom of the **Sikh Gurus**, **bhagats**, and **bhatts** put to music. Along with the **Guru Granth Sahib**, there are many other forms of Sikh literature that Sikhs regularly consult either directly or indirectly in the

construction of Sikh personhood—directly through the reading of breviaries, or *guṭkā*, and indirectly through such things as *kathā*, or homilies, the material of which is often drawn from the narratives contained within this literature, particularly the **gur-bilas** texts.

These other forms of literature, although very important, do in no way compare to the **Adi Granth**. These, in order of their significance, are the poetry of both **Bhai Gurdas** (in Punjabi and **Brajbhasha**) and **Bhai Nand Lal** (in Persian); some portions of the **Dasam Granth**; and the **janam-sakhis**, texts that supply the “birth-evidence” of Guru Nanak. The earlier-mentioned **gur-bilas** literature (which can either mean the “grandeur of the Guru” or “the lineage of the Guru”) may also be included here. This genre is narratively related to the janam-sakhi texts but is more a style that highlights the mighty battles of **Guru Hargobind** and **Guru Gobind Singh**. It also includes portions, albeit brief, on the lives of the eight other Sikh Gurus.

Most gur-bilas literature was written during the same time as that of the **rahit-nama** texts, some of the latter of which contain narratives regarding the Sikh Gurus and all of which outline proper Sikh etiquette and ritual. Although the earliest extant examples of these date to the second decade of the 18th century, it is likely that these works began to be produced sometime in the later 1680s (even earlier if one points out that the **Adi Granth** and the *vārs* of Bhai Gurdas also contain aspects of the **Rahit**). Somewhat later is the **gur-praṇālī** literature of the 18th and 19th centuries that describes and names the family members of the Sikh Gurus (the study of which continues to remain situated solely within Punjabi-language scholarship).

Many examples of these forms of Sikh literature were prepared by the poets who graced the literary **darbar** of Guru Gobind Singh, although these men generally wrote texts on the more fashionable topics (and in the more stylish languages) of their day, adopting the same stylistic peculiarities of contemporary literary courts, especially in the production of *ritīgranth*s, or style manuals, and **Brajbhasha** interpretations of the Mahabharata and other classical Indic texts. In rare, but famous cases, poets of the Tenth Guru wrote in Persian.

All of these works are generally situated in the precolonial era before the annexation of the Punjab by the British East India Company (Santokh Singh’s *Sūraj Prakāsh*, for example), although many continue to be written well into the 20th century. This is the case with the gur-bilas literature under the able craftsmanship of **Giani Gian Singh** and with the **Rahit** texts, the preparation of at least two very important **rahit-namas** having led the way to the now-standardized **Sikh Rahit Marayada** of 1950. To this list one may also add commentarial literature in a number of languages, including Sanskrit and **Brajbhasha**, produced by the Udasi and Nirmala segments of the Sikh Panth.

The modern period has also seen the development of a type of Sikh literature that has been well influenced by the ideas of the European Enlightenment, particularly ideas appropriated in the new fields of religious studies. These would include in particular the works of **Jodh Singh**, **Vir Singh**, and **Teja Singh**, all of whom attempted to craft a Sikh theology by refracting the ideology of the Guru Granth Sahib through just such a prism. To this one may also add the English Sikh literature of Puran Singh and the emergence of Punjabi novels, pioneered by Vir Singh and refined under such Sikh authors as Nanak Singh.

LITURGY. By the time the **Adi Granth** was compiled in 1603 and 1604, a daily liturgy had clearly emerged within the **Panth** and is recorded on the opening 13 pages of the scripture. This liturgy comprises **Nanak's Japji** (early morning); **Raharas** (sunset); and **Kirtan Sohila** (before retiring at night). *See also* NIT-NEM.

LOBH. "Greed." One of the five evils.

LOHRĪ. A festival marking the end of the short winter, held at night on the last day of the month of Poh (January).

LONGOWAL (LANGAVAL). *See* HARCHAND SINGH LONGOWAL (1932–1985).

LUBANA. A caste of traders, carriers, and hawkers of the hill area of the **Punjab**. Approximately 30 percent of the Lubanas are **Sikhs**. The claim of descent from **Rajputs** and Gaur **Brahmans** seems impossible to sustain.

See also MAKHAN SHAH.

M

MACAULIFFE, MAX ARTHUR (1841–1913). A name deeply revered in the **Panth**. Max Arthur Macauliffe was an Indian civil service (ICS) officer assigned to the **Punjab**. He rose to be a deputy commissioner in 1882 and a divisional judge in 1884. Meanwhile, he had been studying the literature of the **Sikhs**, and in 1893 he resigned from the ICS to devote his time exclusively to it. **Trumpp**'s translation of the **Adi Granth** had deeply offended the Sikhs, and Macauliffe's intention was to produce a translation of his own that would repair the damage. Also, he argued, the government would be wise to understand a people who were potentially of great assistance to it. Working closely with **Kahn Singh Nabha** and various **gianis** in **Amritsar**, he circulated his drafts widely among the Sikhs. Eventually the work was completed and was published in six volumes as *The Sikh Religion* in 1909. It contains accounts of the lives of the 10 **Gurus** and the **bhagats** of the **Adi Granth**, together with extensive translations of their works. Unfortunately, the work received no patronage from the Punjab government, and as a result the publication cost Macauliffe a large sum. *The Sikh Religion* has had an immense and continuing success. It is important to remember, however, that the author consistently reflects the **Singh Sabha** attitudes of his close Sikh associates. Highly sympathetic to the **Tat Khalsa**, his work is generally uncritical of it.

MACHHIVARA. A small town at which **Guru Gobind Singh** paused after having evacuated **Anandpur** in December 1704. Here he met up with **Ghani Khan** and his brother **Nabi Khan**, who persuaded the Tenth Guru to disguise himself as the Muslim pir *Uch kā Pīr* (the saint of Uch) in order to avoid capture. There are three **gurdwaras** that grace this town today, all of which commemorate this event: Gurdwara Charan Kaval, Gurdwara Chubara, and Gurdwara Uch da Pir.

MADAD-I MA'ASH. These were revenue-free grants of land gifted to Muslim noblemen (*alim/ulama*) and to the *maishaikhs* of **Sufi khanāqahs**, generally.

MADAN SINGH (?–1705). One of the **Sikhs** who fell as a martyr at the Battle of **Chamkaur**.

MĀGHĪ. The first day of the Indian month of Magh, which is generally recognized throughout the subcontinent as a winter solstice festival. On Maghi, **Sikhs** commemorate the day (29 December 1705) on which it is believed that the **Chali Mukte** all died in the attempt to secure safe passage for **Guru Gobind Singh** after the evacuation of **Anandpur**. The most important place at which this observation takes place is **Muktsar**.

MAHADEV (trad. 1560–1605). The second son of **Guru Ram Das** and Mata Bhani.

MAHADEVI (?–1645). The third of the three **wives** of **Guru Hargobind**, mother of Suraj Mal.

MAHĀKĀL. A word used to designate the divine as the “great death” or “great time.” Often a name for a severe form of Shiva which inspires martial excellence, a name not uncommon within the **Dasam Granth**.

MAHALĀ. The word employed in the **Adi Granth** to indicate authorship by one of the **Gurus**. Mahala 1 (or M1) designates **Guru Nanak**; Mahala 2 (or M2) **Guru Angad**; and so on. The formula is used at the beginning of each work. The origin of the word is obscure. It may have been borrowed from **Mughal** usage, which referred to a principality as a mahala. Alternatively, “mahal” means “abode,” and “mahala,” deriving from mahal, may mean “the place [where **Akal Purakh** resides].”

MAHAN SINGH (?–1792). The leader of the **Shukerchakia misl** and father of **Ranjit Singh**.

MAHANT. “Superior.” The head of an establishment such as those of the **Naths** or **Udasis**. Its reputation for modern **Sikhs** has been tarnished beyond redemption, for this was the title applied to the hereditary proprietors of **gurdwaras**, some of whom became a scandal to the **Panth** during the early years of the 20th century.

See also GURDWARA REFORM MOVEMENT.

MAHARAJ SINGH, BHAI (?–1856). The successor of **Bir Singh**, he attracted thousands of **Sikhs** by his preaching and his reputation as a miracle worker. He fought against the British in the second Sikh war of 1848–1849. After eluding capture, he was finally taken and transported to Singapore. He

died in a Singapore jail in solitary confinement and is today considered a martyr by the Sikhs of that area. His shrine is found within the large Sikh **gurdwara** on Singapore's Silat Road.

MAHARI CHAND. One of **Guru Hargobind's** grandsons who was born to the Sixth Master's daughter, Bibi **Viro**. Mahari Chand, like his brothers, took part in the **Battle of Bhangani** and as such has become immortalized within the **Bachitar Natak**, in which **Guru Gobind Singh** tells of his terrifying martial skill.

MAHIMĀ PRAKĀSH. There are two different **janam-sakhis** of this name: the *Mahimā Prakāsh Vāratak* (prose) and the *Mahimā Prakāsh Kavītā* (verse). Apart from the fact that both originated in **Khadur**, there is little to connect them. Both appear to have been composed in the middle of the 18th century, and both texts provide far more than the life story of **Guru Nanak**, elaborating alongside this story with narratives regarding the lives of all the **Sikh Gurus**, including some of their prominent disciples, especially Bhai **Nand Lal**.

MAHIMASHAHIAS. These are the followers of one **Mohar Singh** (1758–1815), who claimed spiritual descent from the most famous of the **Panj Piare**, Bhai **Daya Singh**, a connection well in keeping with the popular 18th-century understandings of the sanctity of the Five Cherished Ones. Mohar Singh was popularly known as Mahima Shah because he was understood to be the king of muttering the praise (*mahimā*) of God.

MAHITAB KAUR (?–1813). First wife of Maharaja **Ranjit Singh**.

MAHTAB SINGH/MEHTAB SINGH/MAHITAB SINGH (?–1745). A **Sikh** warrior of the 18th century remembered as a great martyr of the Sikh tradition. The period in which Mahitab Singh lived was one that saw **Khalsa** Sikhs suffer a persecution by the **Mughals**, Afghans, and Pathans so acute that they could not even manage their shrines, allowing **Udasi** Sikhs that privilege. Since Mahitab Singh was the grandfather of the famous Sikh author **Ratan Singh Bhangu**, many of the traditions regarding Mahitab Singh may be read in Bhangu's early 19th-century *Gur-panth Parkāsh* (retitled *Prachīn Panth Parkāsh*). Here it is claimed that Mahitab Singh was so disturbed by **Massa Ranghar's** conversion of **Harimandir Sahib** into a den of iniquity that he resolved to kill the offender and avenge the sacrilege. He, along with his companion Sukkha Singh, disguised themselves as tax collectors; made their way to Harimandir, in which the *kotwāl*, or chief police officer, of Amritsar, Massa Ranghar, was enjoying himself; and immediately

decapitated him, both Khalsa Sikhs riding off afterward. Mahitab Singh was captured five years later and, along with Bhai **Taru Singh**, tortured to death in **Lahore**.

MAHTON. A small **caste** centered on the **Doaba**, some of whom have become Sikhs. Their own account of their origins holds them to be **Rajputs**. Others dispute this.

MAKHAN SHAH. Makhan Shah Lubana is traditionally said to have been a trader of the mid-17th century. During a storm at sea he vowed to give the **Sikh Guru** 500 gold mohurs if he was spared. After the storm abated, he traveled up to the **Punjab** and was informed that the **Guru** was to be found in the village of **Bakala**. On proceeding there, he found many claiming the title vacated by the recent death of **Guru Har Krishan**. He decided to test them all, laying before each of the claimants two mohurs. When he reached **Tegh Bahadur**, he was asked for the remainder he had promised. Immediately, he rushed up to the rooftop, proclaiming that he had found the true Guru.

MĀLĀ. A garland; a necklace; a rosary for aiding meditation.

MALCOLM, JOHN (1769–1833). Following a visit to the **Punjab** with Lord Lake in 1805, John Malcolm published his *Sketch of the Sikhs*, first as an article in 1810 and then as a book in 1812. The work, which was the result of extensive inquiries, mixes error with some very perceptive observations.

MALERKOTLA. A small town south of Ludhiana, previously ruled by a Muslim. Sher Muhammad, who was ruler in the time of **Guru Gobind Singh**, interceded with **Vazir Khan** without success for the lives of the **Guru**'s two sons. This gesture, referred to in popular memory as the *hāh dā nara*, or cry for justice, has never been forgotten by the Sikhs, and Muslims fleeing from **Sikhs** in **Partition** days were safe once they had crossed the border into Malerkotla. In recent times, moreover, Malerkotla was spared the consequences of the Sikh militancy that plagued the **Punjab** in the 1980s and 1990s. Because it was east of the Satluj, it was not absorbed by **Ranjit Singh** and instead became a princely state under British rule. After Partition it merged with other princely states to become a part of the **Patiala** and Eastern Punjab States Union, or **PEPSU**.

MALWA. The territory southeast of the Satluj River, one of the three areas into which central **Punjab** is divided. The eastern and southern boundaries are where the **Punjabi** language gives way to Hindi. The inhabitants are known as Malwais.

See also DOABA; MANJHA (MAJH, MAJHA, MANJH).

MAN. This word (a cognate of *manas* and pronounced “mun,” as in “mundane”) is of key importance in **Gurmat**. It denotes the inner human faculty that combines the heart, mind, and soul of conventional Western usage. When led astray by his or her own wayward notions, a person is following *man* and is said to be **manmukh** (one who follows his or her own self-centered impulses). The opposite is **gurmukh**. The way to truth involves the conquest of the *man*. “*Mani jītai jagu jītu*,” “To conquer the *man* is to conquer the world” (**Adi Granth**, p. 6).

MANGAL/MANGAL RAI. One of Guru Gobind Singh’s darbari kavis, or court poets. His works include a **Braj** interpretation of the *Shalya Parva* of the Mahabharata.

See also LITERATURE.

MANI SINGH (1673–1738). A **Jat Sikh** born in a village near **Patiala**. He became a devoted follower of **Guru Gobind Singh** and after the evacuation of **Anandpur** in 1704 escorted two of the Guru’s wives to **Delhi**. Returning to join the **Guru** in **Damdama Sahib**, he inscribed, by tradition, a copy of the **Adi Granth** at the Guru’s dictation. He is also said to have gathered together the various works that now form the **Dasam Granth**. This too is by tradition. In the controversy over changes introduced into the **Panth** by **Banda**, he evidently sided with the **Tat Khalsa**. When the **Punjab** eventually quieted down following the execution of Banda, he was placed in charge of **Harimandir Sahib** by Mata **Sundari**. In 1738 he was executed by the **Mughal** governor of **Lahore** on a spurious charge of failing to pay tribute. Since then he has been remembered by the **Panth** as a great martyr.

MANĪ SINGH JANAM-SĀKHĪ. *See* GYAN-RATANĀVALĪ.

MANJHA (MAJH, MAJHA, MANJH). The Bari interfluvial tract; the territory between the Beas/Satluj and Ravi Rivers, one of three areas that constitute central **Punjab**. The inhabitants are known as Majhails.

See also DOABA; MALWA.

MAÑJĪ. Considerable uncertainty surrounds the title “manji,” granted to a small number of faithful **Sikhs** during the early years of the **Panth**. Literally meaning “string bed,” the word designated the person who, possessing authority or esteem, sat on the bed while everyone else sat on the ground. In this sense, the word is used today to designate the stool or lectern on which the **Guru Granth Sahib** rests. **Guru Amar Das** is usually credited with appointing the first manjis and awarding the title to those empowered to preach in his name. The honor did not imply any geographical authority, and there is no justification for the parallel with the Emperor Akbar’s 22 provinces (*bāi sūbā*). The order did not last long and was replaced under **Guru Ram Das** by the **masands**, men with a significantly larger and more formal authority than the manjis possessed.

MAÑJĪ SĀHIB. (1) The lectern on which the **Guru Granth Sahib** is placed in a **gurdwara**. (2) Several shrines or gurdwaras bear the name of Manji Sahib, a prominent one being on the southeastern side of the pool of **Hari-mandir Sahib** in **Amritsar**, where **Guru Arjan** is said to have held regular audience. It has since been frequently used for Sikh gatherings and is now covered in by the Divan Hall.

MANMAT. The opposite of **Gurmat**, heresy.

MANMOHAN SINGH (1932–). Former finance minister in the Indian National Congress Government of P. V. Narasimha Rao in the 1990s and 13th prime minister of India.

MANMUKH. “One whose face is turned to [his or her own] *man*.” A self-willed, wayward person.

See also GURMUKH.

MANN, SIMRANJIT SINGH. *See* SIMRANJIT SINGH MANN (1945–).

MANPRIT SINGH BADAL (1961–). Sikh politician and the leader of the People’s Party of the Punjab. Nephew of **Prakash Singh Badal**.

See also POLITICAL PARTIES, POSTPARTITION.

MANSA DEVI (?–1569). The wife of **Guru Amar Das**. Little is known of her.

MANSA RAM, BHAI. One of the scribes who, tradition notes, was responsible for the transmission of various manuscripts of the **Adi Granth**.

MARATHAS. The Marathas, a Hindu warrior caste, emerged on the scene in India in the mid-17th century and assumed a hitherto unrecognized importance thanks to the career of their greatest warrior, Shivaji Bhonsale (1627–1680), who consistently plagued the **Mughal** emperor **Aurangzeb** and established a power base in Pune. Although the Marathas had no run-ins with the **Sikh Gurus** (apart from the one meeting of which we hear in Sikh tradition between **Guru Hargobind** and **Swami Ramdas Samrath**, who would go on to become Shivaji's teacher, a meeting in Srinigar in 1634 apparently, which cannot be verified), both the Sikhs and the Marathas grew in importance and power as 18th-century Mughal India became decentralized and as the old nobility began to give way to new elites. From the middle of the 18th to the beginning of the 19th century, however, Sikhs and Marathas occasionally collaborated and sometimes fought. The final interaction between the two groups occurred in 1805 as the British general Lord Lake (along with **John Malcolm**, who wrote of this expedition in his *Sketch of the Sikhs*) was pursuing the Maratha leader Jaswant Rao Holkar through the territories then occupied by **Maharaja Ranjit Singh**.

MARDANA (1459–1534). A Muslim by religion and a Mirasi by **caste**, Mardana was born in **Nanak's** village of **Rai Bhoi di Talvandi** and presumably earned his early living by his **caste** profession of minstrel, playing the rabab. The **janam-sakhis** are unanimous in naming him as Nanak's regular companion and rababi, and this can be accepted. In the **janam-sakhis** he regularly appears as a foil to Nanak's wise sayings or miracles. Three compositions by him appear in the **Adi Granth**.

MARRIAGE. *See* ANAND KĀRAJ; ARRANGED MARRIAGES; SAME-SEX MARRIAGE.

MARTIAL RACES. When the British developed their theory of the “martial races” of India during the latter part of the 19th century, the **Sikhs** were one of the main beneficiaries. The British needed soldiers for the Indian army who possessed both fighting skills and loyalty to their commanders. In response they developed the theory of the martial races. The Sikhs were prime candidates for inclusion, partly because they had fought the British so vigorously in the Anglo-Sikh wars and partly because most of them proved to be hostile to the Indians responsible for the 1857 uprising. As a result they were strongly favored in recruitment, taking their place with other “martial races” such as the **Punjabi** Muslims and the Gurkhas. Not all Sikhs were so favored, however, and recruitment officers had manuals that specified **castes** and regions that were regarded as sound or otherwise. Whereas in general the **Jats** were greatly esteemed, the **Aroras** were largely ignored. During World

War II remittances to **Punjab** villages caused the **Akali Dal** to favor continued recruitment in spite of the fact that they had been aligned with the **Congress** Party, which opposed the war. After independence in 1947, the proportion of Sikhs in the armed forces was seriously cut back, places being filled by regional quotas. Sikhs, protesting this, claimed that places ought rather to be filled by those with reputations for fighting ability.

See also ARMY, ARMED FORCES; MILITANCY.

MARTYR. *See* SHAHĪD.

MARTYRDOM. *See* SHAHĪDĪ; SHAHĀDAT.

MARYĀDĀ. Ritual; order of service; religious practice.

MASAND. Evidently a corrupted version of the Arabic *masnad*, “throne” or “one who sits on a throne.” The masands were first instituted as surrogates of the **Guru**, evidently by **Ram Das**. It appears that they replaced the **manjis** appointed by **Amar Das**, creating a regular order and significantly enlarging the responsibilities of the manjis. In addition to preaching, they were also commissioned to oversee individual **sangats** or groups of sangats and to collect offerings made to the Guru (the **dasvandh**). These would be passed on to the Guru whenever the masands made contact with him, perhaps at one of the annual festivals. During their early years, the masands apparently performed their duties faithfully, but by the time of **Guru Gobind Singh** many of them had become largely independent and corrupt. The Guru therefore abolished them when he founded the **Khalsa**, probably in 1699. A follower of a masand is called a masandia.

See also PAÑJ MEL.

MASIA. *See* AMĀVAS.

MASSA RANGHAR (?–1740). A Hindu **Rajput** appointed commandant of **Amritsar** by the **Mughal** governor of **Lahore**, **Zakariya Khan**. He used the precincts of **Harimandir Sahib** for amusement with dancing girls and in 1740 was assassinated for his sacrilege by Mahtab Singh and Sukkha Singh.

MATĀ. “Mother.” A title of respect given to older women. The wives of the **Gurus**, for example, are always called Mata.

MATERIAL CULTURE. Although there is certainly a suspicion of iconic art in the **Sikh** tradition and statements within the **Guru Granth Sahib** suggesting the inefficacy of idol and image veneration, there is nevertheless a

vibrant and dynamic material dimension to the Sikh tradition, in which Sikhs have over the centuries heavily invested, emotionally and aesthetically, in materials connected with the Sikh **Gurus**, heroes, martyrs, and **Sants**. The weapons of the Gurus may serve as an example, as well as the various turbans, shoes, carriages, combs, and other materials that have come into contact with the Gurus. Sikh manuscripts, especially those with the handwriting of the Gurus, and, as well, Sikh spaces made sacred either by the touch of one of the Sikh Gurus or the blood of Sikh martyrs serve similarly as “memory sites” of the Sikh tradition.

See also ART; JALAU.

MATI DAS (?–1675). One of three **Sikhs** executed with **Guru Tegh Bha-dur**.

See also DAYAL DAS (?–1675); SATI DAS (?–1675).

MATTHE ṬEKAṆĀ. “To [bow down and] place the forehead [on the ground].” The action performed before the **Adi Granth** by anyone entering a **gurdwara**.

MĀYĀ. In the **Adi Granth**, maya signifies the corrupt and corrupting world with all its snares, seductively presented to people as permanent and incorruptible and thus masquerading as ultimate truth. In some **Sikh** contexts it means filthy lucre.

MAYA SINGH (1862–1928). A prominent member of the early **Lahore Singh Sabha** and editor of the Urdu *Khālsā Gazette*. Formerly a member of the **Arya Samaj**. Maya Singh is also remembered as the author of one of the first Punjabi-English dictionaries, called simply *The Punjabi Dictionary*, which was published in 1895.

MAZHABĪ. A **Sikh** from the **Chuhra** (sweeper) **caste**; an Outcaste Sikh.

See also DALIT; RAMDASIA; RANGHRETA.

MCLEOD, WILLIAM HEWAT (1932–2009). Scholar of the **Sikh** tradition whose memory holds a rather ambiguous place in the contemporary Panth. On the one hand, McLeod is praised for almost single-handedly presenting the Sikh tradition to scholars outside of India as a serious field of study. On the other, his rigorous and balanced historical critique of Sikh history and tradition, especially that concerning the life of **Guru Nanak** and the emergence of militancy within the **Panth**, which questioned many long-cherished beliefs, was cause for disapproval. As with the work of **Pashaura**

Singh, a student of his, McLeod's work was far more thoroughly scrutinized by concerned Sikhs because of the ubiquitous ethno-nationalist and political strife of 1990s **Punjab**.

MEDINI PRAKASH (?–1704). Ruler of the Pahari state of Sirmur from 1684 to 1704. In April 1685, Medini Prakash invited **Guru Gobind Singh** to reside with him in the town at Nahan during which the Tenth Master had a fort built at **Paonta**, here establishing a poetic **darbar**. While at Paonta, the Guru fought the Battle of **Bhangani**, in which he was victorious. After this he left for his patrimony, **Anandpur**. Because of his fondness for the Guru and his unwillingness to take part in the Battle of Bhangani against him, Medini Prakash earned the distrust of his Pahari neighbors and the **Mughal** administration.

MEHDIANA SAHIB. A village near Jagroan in Ludhiana district. What makes Mehdiana stand out is the fact that since the early 1970s a series of statues depicting scenes from **Sikh** history, as portrayed in the paintings of the famous Sikh artist Kirpal Singh, have been set up within the vast precincts of the village's predominant **gurdwara**. The erection of these statues is ongoing and has ensured that Mehdiana will be a site of Sikh pilgrimage.

MEHTAB SINGH (1879–1938). An **Arora Sikh** who was a prominent political leader in the early 1920s.

MELĪ. Although the term *melī* is used in the **Adi Granth** to connote different shades of the verb from which it is derived, *melaṇā*, “to join,” it designates a class of preachers in the intriguing ***Dabistān-i Mazāhib***. The *Dabistān* claims that the *melīs* were the representatives of the masands who, in turn, represented the **Guru**.

METCALFE, SIR CHARLES (1785–1846). Sent to **Lahore** by **Lord Minto** initially to form an alliance between the British and the Sikhs against the French threat to India. After the French decline in power, Metcalfe's goal altered. At this point the British mission was to ensure the protection of the Cis-Sutlej states. The negotiations came to an end with the passage of the Treaty of Amritsar in 1809 by which the British East India Company advanced to the southern bank of the Satluj River. The Trans-Sutlej territories were left to **Ranjit Singh**, through which he could expand as he saw fit.

MEWA SINGH (?–1915). A **granthi** in Vancouver who in 1914 killed an Anglo-Indian policeman called Hopkinson who was employed by the government of British Columbia in **Canada** to break up the **Ghadr** movement. Mewa Singh is regarded as a martyr, and the anniversary of his execution is celebrated by the **Sikhs** of North America.

MIAN MIR (1550–1635). A **Sufi** of the Qadiriyyah order with whom **Guru Arjan** is traditionally believed to have been friendly. The belief that he laid the foundation stone of **Harimandir Sahib** is unsubstantiated. Tradition also claims that Mian Mir played a role in securing the release of **Guru Hargobind** from the Gwalior Fort in which the Sixth Guru had been jailed.

MIGRATION. Until the late 19th century, migrant **Sikhs** were chiefly traders who settled elsewhere in India or in neighboring lands to the west. This range was substantially enlarged by the Indian army of the British. Sikh soldiers stationed in Singapore and Hong Kong began the **Punjabi** migration to both territories, a small flow that soon extended to **Australia**, **New Zealand**, and Fiji. Most were male **Jats**, virtually all of them seeking temporary unskilled employment. Others had discovered opportunities along the West Coast of North America, the first migrants evidently arriving in 1903. Semi-skilled artisans (mainly **Ramgarhias**) were also taken across to East Africa to lay railways. Early in the 20th century these doors were closed. When the **Punjabi** flow recommenced after World War II, it issued from both India and Pakistan, with most migrating to England but with significant numbers again going to North America. As before, a substantial majority of those from India were Sikhs from districts bordering the upper Satluj. The Sikh population in the **United Kingdom** was 423,000, according to the census of 2011. There are also communities of roughly 180,000–200,000 each in the **United States** and **Canada**.

See also EUROPEAN SIKHS; POPULATION.

MIHARĀB. The niche in a mosque that indicates the *qibla* (i.e., the direction of the Ka’bah in Mecca).

MIHARBAN (1581–1640). The son of **Prithi Chand** and his successor as leader of the **Mina** sect.

MIHARBĀN JANAM-SĀKHĪ. A six-volume **janam-sakhi** attributed to **Miharban** and his successors. As they were **Minas**, the **janam-sakhi** is generally thought to be heretical. This is not so, as the **Minas**, though schismatic,

were generally orthodox. The work uses the janam-sakhi pattern as a framework, but adds extensive exegesis of the works of **Nanak** to each janam-sakhi incident. Only the first three volumes have survived.

MILITANCY. The **Sikhs** have won fame as a warrior race. This reputation has certainly been earned by many of them, but it needs to be qualified. It is the **Jats** who have been largely responsible for this reputation, other **castes** being less conspicuous. The **Punjab** has always been crossed by invaders, and open warfare is a useful means both of protection and offense. The Jats were notably successful in this respect, gradually establishing for themselves the position of the dominant caste in rural Punjab. A Jat normally went armed, at least with a stave, and the men had long since discovered that the force of their arms was the best method of securing their objectives. This attitude has been widely believed to be characteristic of the **Panth** as a whole. It should be noted that more than 60 percent of Sikhs are Jats, so the mistake is an understandable one. Moreover, other **Punjabi** castes such as the **Khatris** could also produce their warriors, including, of course, **Guru Hargobind** and **Guru Gobind Singh**. Sikhs sometimes show their sympathy for militancy in the personal names they choose. (“Karnail” and “Jarnail” are the Punjabi forms of “Colonel” and “General.”) It was also conspicuously displayed by the actions of many members of the Panth in opposing the government of India in the troubles affecting the state between 1984 and 1992.

See also ARMY, ARMED FORCES; MARTIAL RACES.

MILKHA SINGH (1935–). A very famous **Sikh** sprinter who is also known as the Flying Sikh.

MILNĪ. The meeting of the relatives of both sides prior to the celebration of a wedding. At the place of marriage the father of the groom steps forward and is embraced by the father of the bride. Brothers and uncles then follow. Gifts are given to the groom’s relatives by the relatives of the bride.

MĪNĀ. “Dissembler.” Unscrupulous scoundrel. The term applied to any follower of **Prithi Chand**, eldest brother of **Arjan** and disappointed contender for the title of **Guru**. **Ram Das** had three sons, and although he had decided that the office should remain in his family, his choice of a successor went to his youngest son, Arjan. Prithi Chand vigorously disputed this decision and on one occasion is said to have tried to poison the young **Hargobind**, Arjan’s only child. Prithi Chand was succeeded in his claim to be the rightful Guru by his son **Miharban**. The group controlled **Amritsar** for much of the 17th

century, and under the second successor, Hariji, was able to keep **Guru Tegh Bahadur** from entering it. The Minas were included in the **Panj Mel**. During the 18th century the group faded away and is now virtually extinct.

MINTO, SIR GILBERT ELLIOT (1751–1814). Governor-general of India from 1807 to 1813. The principal architect behind the Treaty of Amritsar, which ended **Ranjit Singh**'s ambitions toward acquiring the Cis-Sutlej states.

MIR MANNU (?–1753). Son of the vazir of **Delhi**, his correct name was Muin ul-Mulk. He was appointed governor of **Lahore** and **Multan** in 1748 during the period when **Mughal** power was rapidly declining in the Punjab and made determined efforts to suppress Sikhs who were disrupting the province. He had to confront the Afghan invader **Ahmad Shah Abdali**, however, which necessitated enrolling **Sikhs** in his army. With this danger past, he returned to a policy of vigorous suppression. In 1753 he was killed when his horse threw him.

MIRA BAI. One hymn by the female **bhagat** Mira Bai is included in the Banno version of the **Adi Granth**. The same hymn appears in the **Kartarpur** version in a different hand from that of the original scribe, but has been crossed out. Mira Bai also figures in a text produced in **Guru Gobind Singh**'s darbar that is often erroneously attributed to the Tenth Guru, the *Prem Abodh*, "Love Indiscriminate."

See also ADI GRANTH BANNO RECENSION.

MIRASI. A depressed caste of Muslim genealogists and musicians; the **caste** to which Mardana belonged. It is also called Dum.

MĪRĪ/PĪRĪ. **Guru Hargobind** is traditionally believed to have symbolically donned two **swords** when succeeding as Sixth **Guru**. One sword was called *pīrī*, marking a continuation of the spiritual mission of his five predecessors. The other was new. This represented *mīrī*, the right of the Guru to wear arms and to fight against tyranny. Both terms are of Muslim derivation, *pīrī* signifying the spiritual role of a **Sufi pir** and *mīrī* the rank of a mir or chieftain. The term *mīrī/pīrī* seems not to have been used for some time, but it later attained popularity as a result of its rhyme and is frequently cited as justification for the duty of the **Panth** to fight against oppression.

MIRTAK SANSKĀR. *See* FUNERAL.

MIRZA BEG. A Mughal official who is mentioned positively in the **Bachitar Natak**. Apparently, in 1696 Mirza Beg accompanied Prince Mu‘azzam (later **Bahadur Shah**), who was sent to ensure that the hill rajas maintain their loyalty to the emperor **Aurangzeb** and pay their tribute. Mirza Beg helped bring the recalcitrant rajas back in line.

MISL. An armed group of **Sikh** horsemen during the middle and later decades of the 18th century. Under their **misldars** they acquired regional authority over areas of varying size. The misls (or misals) began as warrior bands providing protection for the **Khalsa** as order progressively broke down in the **Punjab** and taking advantage of conditions of growing lawlessness. **Jats** were particularly prominent in the misls, though other rural castes also participated.

In the early years, rudimentary misls fought against the declining authority of the **Mughals**. Later, as they became firmer in their organization, the chief enemy was the Afghan army under **Ahmad Shah Abdali**. As the Afghan threat receded, the misls marked out their individual territories more distinctly and at times engaged in internecine warfare.

Operations were based on *rākhī*, or protection money, normally one-fifth of a village’s produce. Two of them (the **Bhangi** and the **Phulkian** misls) had meanwhile grown into confederacies. Finally one of their number, **Ranjit Singh** of the **Shukerchakia** misl, defeated or absorbed all the misls north and west of the Satluj River and emerged as ruler of an undivided Punjab around 1800. Misls to the south of the Satluj were obliterated or protected by the advancing British. Those that were protected (all parts of the Phulkian federation) were retained as princely states, the chief among them **Patiala**.

Twelve misls are recognized: the Bhangi, Shukerchakia, **Kahnaiya**, **Ramgarhia**, **Nakkai**, **Faizulpuria** (or **Singhpuria**), **Ahluvalia**, **Dallevalia**, **Karorsinghia**, **Nishanvalia**, **Shahid**, and Phulkian. In addition to these 12, there were other bands of Khalsa horsemen, each under its **sardar**, that evidently lacked the distinction of a misl. The precise nature of the Sikh misls as fighting bands and as political authorities is still imperfectly understood. So too is the etymology of the word *misl*, which may derive from the Arabic *mishal*, “equal.”

See also MISLDĀR.

MISLDĀR. The **sardar** in command of a **misl**.

MOHAN (trad. 1536–?). The elder of the sons of **Amar Das**, he opposed his father’s choice of **Ram Das** as Fourth **Guru**. He retained custody of the **Goindvāl Pothīs**, recorded on his father’s instructions by his son Sahans Ram.

MOHĀN POTHĪS. *See* GOINDVĀL POTHĪS.

MOHAN SINGH DIVANA. A noted **Punjabi** author of the mid-20th century.

MOHAN SINGH VAID (1881–1936). An Ayurvedic doctor from Tarn Taran who worked enthusiastically for the **Singh Sabha**. His principal contribution lay in his **Punjabi** writings (journalism, pamphlets, books, and novels) in which social issues were prominent. His large library was left to **Punjabi University, Patiala**.

MOHAR SINGH (1758–1815). Founder of the **Mahimashahias**.

MOHARI (trad. 1539–?). The younger son of **Amar Das**. He opposed his father's choice of **Ram Das** as Fourth **Guru**.

MOKSH. *See* MUKTĪ.

MONĀ. Strictly, any person who has undergone ritual shaving of the head. **Singh Sabha** usage designated those who cut their hair after **Khalsa initiation**. In modern usage it refers loosely and somewhat pejoratively to any Sikh who cuts his or her hair.

MONEY. *See* WEALTH.

MONOGAMY. **Sikh Rahit Marayada** states that “normally a **Sikh** should have only one wife.” The “normally” is evidently added because **Guru Har-gobind** and **Guru Gobind Singh** both had three wives simultaneously. In the **Punjab**, strongly influenced by Muslim example, an important person would commonly be expected to marry more than once for such reasons as signifying alliances or providing protection to women needing it. Maharaja **Ranjit Singh** also had several wives.

MORCHĀ. “Facing the enemy.” A campaign against the government waged by the **Akali Dal**. The term is probably derived from the Persian word *mūrchah*, or “entrenchment.”

MOUNT SUMERU. The legendary Puranic mountain at the center of the earth. The **janam-sakhis** all relate a discourse that **Guru Nanak** held there with the 84 immortal **Siddhs**.

MUGHAL. The term “Mughal” (also Mogul) is a version of the word “Mongol.” And although the Mughal dynasty’s founder Zahiruddin Muhammad **Babur** is descended on his mother’s side from the great Mongol Chinggis Khan, Mughal was not the term by which Babur and his family described themselves. Rather, they favored their patrilineal descent from the Central Asian conqueror Amir Timur, whose father was one of Timur’s many descendants. Mughal royalty therefore often thought of themselves as Timurids.

MUGHAL RELATIONS. **Babur**, the first of the **Mughals**, invaded north India from Afghanistan and with the Battle of Panipat in 1526 established the Mughal dynasty. This falls within the lifetime of **Nanak**. **Aurangzeb**, the last of the six so-called Great Mughals, died in 1707, the year before the death of **Gobind Singh**. The height of Mughal rule thus coincided with the lives of the 10 **Gurus**. Although popular Sikh tradition expresses, for the most part, a straightforward narrative trajectory in regard to the relationship between the Sikh Gurus and the Mughal emperors as being one of the latter’s repression of the former, the interactions between them were highly nuanced. There is only circumstantial evidence to suggest meetings between **Guru Nanak** and Babur, **Guru Angad** and **Humayun**, and **Guru Amar Das** and **Akbar** (and perhaps **Guru Ram Das** and Akbar before the latter had become the Guru). All of these descriptions must arouse suspicion since these narratives demonstrate a common theme within Indian hagiography: the blessing or victory of the saint over the worldly ruler. The evidence is solid, however, regarding the visit of the Emperor Akbar to **Guru Arjan** at **Goindval Sahib** as the Mughal ruler was making his way back to Agra from **Lahore** in 1598. After spending some time with the Fifth Guru, Akbar had remitted the land tax on peasants in the Mughal province of the **Punjab** at the Guru’s request, an act well in keeping with Mughal courtly protocol and one which doubtlessly enhanced the prestige of the Fifth Sikh Master within the region. It may be that Guru Arjan’s interaction with Akbar and his vast court (which traveled with the emperor) had some far-reaching effects on the Sikh court and the Sikh community, not the least of which is an increasing interest in manuscript procedures (that may have had an affect on the codification of the **Adi Granth**) and courtly etiquette (perhaps encouraging Guru Arjan to include within the **Adi Granth** the **Bhatt Bani**).

These cordial relations would not last long, apparently. The line of Gurus would later become the object of hostile notice when Akbar’s eldest son, the fourth emperor, **Jahangir**, observed in his memoirs that it was attracting too many followers and that the incumbent Guru, Arjan, had evidently offered support to the rebel Prince **Khusrau**. The action taken against Arjan is obscure, but it seems that he received a heavy fine, which he was unable to pay, and that he died in prison.

Although it is likely that Jahangir's enmity was carried over to the Sixth Guru, **Hargobind**, who after some brushes with Mughal troops found it expedient to withdraw in 1634 to **Kiratpur** in the **Shivalik Hills**, one must also note that an external source, the *Dabistān-i Mazāhib*, makes the claim that Guru Hargobind had somehow become attached to Jahangir for reasons that are not discussed and may have accompanied the emperor's retinue for a short time. While the Gurus and their courts remained in the Shivaliks they were not seriously troubled by the Mughals, apart from a summons to **Guru Har Rai** in 1661 and later one to his successor **Guru Har Krishan**, and the execution of **Guru Tegh Bahadur** at Aurangzeb's command in 1675. It was in the time of Guru Gobind Singh that relations became quite critical, but not until later in the Tenth Guru's lifetime. Before the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur, it appears likely that Aurangzeb had taken a passing interest in influencing the decision of the successor Gurus, which may be the wish that prompted the emperor to summon the Seventh and the Eighth Gurus (Guru Har Rai and Guru Har Krishan, respectively) to Delhi. After November 1675, the emperor, however, realized that this interest was misplaced and that his attempted intervention in the selection process would now inevitably fail.

Aurangzeb's focus gradually turned more toward southern India and issues with his son Prince Akbar and the **Marathas**. Aurangzeb would reside in the south from 1682 until his death in 1707, only occasionally dealing with the situation up north, as when he directed his son **Mu'azzam** to sort out the troublesome **Pahari** rajas in 1696. The situation between the Sikhs and the Mughals had during this later period, therefore, quieted down somewhat.

It became tenuous again in the early 18th century. Mughal troops under **Vazir Khan**, the administrator of Sirhind, joined the hill chiefs in an assault on Guru Gobind Singh's center of **Anandpur**, and in 1704, while the **Sikhs** were withdrawing from it, the combined forces treacherously attacked them. The Guru managed to escape but lost all four sons. He withdrew to south Punjab where Aurangzeb evidently decided to conciliate him, agreeing to the Tenth Guru's suggestion that they should meet in the Deccan. Before they could do so Aurangzeb died. Gobind Singh went to the Deccan to meet his successor **Bahadur Shah** and was assassinated in Nander in 1708 by a Ruhila Afghan.

See also AKBAR, EMPEROR MUHAMMAD JALLALUDDIN (1542–1605); SĀHIB-ZĀDE.

MU'ĪNULMULK. *See* MIR MANNU (?–1753).

MUKHAM SINGH (1663–1705). One of the **Panj Piare** who was killed while fighting in the Battle of **Chamkaur**.

MUKTĪ. Liberation of the human spirit from the bonds of **transmigration**. The term *moksh* is also commonly used.

MUKTSAR. In 1705 at Khidrana, south of **Faridkot**, **Vazir Khan** caught up with the army of **Guru Gobind Singh** but was repulsed. The site was renamed Muktsar, “Pool of the Liberated Ones,” in remembrance of the **Chali Mukte**, who were all killed in the battle.

See also BHAGO.

MULA. A Chona **Khatri** of Batala, father-in-law of **Nanak**.

MŪL MANTRA. The root mantra, the basic credal statement that begins the **Adi Granth**. In translation it reads: “There is one Supreme Being, the Eternal Reality. He is the Creator, without fear and devoid of enmity. He is immortal, never incarnated, self-existent, known by **grace** through the **Guru**.”

See also GENDER OF GOD.

MUL RAJ (1814–1851). The governor of **Multan**, unfairly regarded by the British as a rebel responsible for starting the second Anglo-Sikh war.

See also ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB.

MULTAN. A city southwest of the **Punjab** proper and the capital of a *sūbā* (province) under the **Mughals**. Bhai **Gurdas** relates a story of how **Nanak**, while approaching Multan, was sent a cup brimful of milk by the **pirs** of the city, signifying that it already had all the holy men it could contain. Nanak’s answer was to lay a jasmine petal on the milk and return it without spilling a drop, thereby proclaiming that there was room for one more. This illustrates the kind of story that gains common currency in hagiography. The anecdote, applied to pirs, already had wide popularity among the **Sufis**. Multan was also the home of Bhai **Nand Lal Goya**, to which he had emigrated after his father had died in Ghazna. In 1818 it was incorporated into the domains of **Maharaja Ranjit Singh**.

MUNDĀVĀNĪ. “Seal.” A composition by **Guru Arjan** that, with its attached **shalok**, concludes the text of the **Adi Granth** on page 1429. Only the **Rag Mala** remains.

MUNTAKHANULLUBĀB. “Records of the Wise.” The famous Persian history written by Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan and completed in 1722. Many of the stories of **Aurangzeb**’s iconoclasm occur here for the first time, including the tenacious narrative regarding the “funeral for music.” The in-

tent behind such narratives must ultimately be questioned as it is clear that Khafi Khan was antagonistic to Aurangzeb. Such notwithstanding, Khafi Khan devotes much to the **Sikhs**: he notes that **Guru Gobind Singh** accompanied **Bahadur Shah** southward and that the **Guru** was killed by a dagger. Although Khafi Khan marshals vituperative language to discuss **Banda**, he nevertheless grudgingly admits to Sikh courage and valor as well as to Banda's evenhandedness as the latter wrote to the Mughal commanders (*faujdārs*) of an area to surrender before he and his Sikhs attacked.

MURRAY. Little is known about this Murray; he was a physician sent to the Lahore Darbar of Ranjit Singh, residing there for eight months. Murray's dispatches are full of interesting little details about Ranjit Singh's daily regimen.

MURRAY, DAVID. British agent whose interlocutor regarding Sikh knowledge was **Ratan Singh Bhangu**. Bhangu often notes Murray in his *Gurpanth Prakāsh*.

MUSIC. Sikh sacred music is almost entirely vocal, with very little attention paid to the hand-operated harmoniums or the tabla (drums) that accompany the human voice. Relatively little attention is paid also to the solo performer, most *kīrtan* being sung by groups of **Sikhs**, sometimes quite large. *Kīrtan* is normally accompanied by three musicians (two with harmoniums and one with tabla) and they play not their own compositions but the various *rāgs* indicated specifically for particular *shabads* by the **Adi Granth**.

This having been said, it is nevertheless true that there are certain performers who are virtuosos who have entered the commercial realm, selling audio recordings of *kīrtan* they have sung. Such men and women are certainly singled out, and attending a *kīrtan samāgam* or *kīrtan darbār* at which they are singing is often something desired. Lest such performers become arrogant and accrue pride because of their talent, however, there are stories within Sikh tradition that make clear the ostracism that singers face by manifesting such self-importance, stories such as those regarding the famous musicians of **Guru Arjan's** day, **Satta and Balwand**.

Other types of music which are understood to be characteristically Sikh include that performed by dhadhi jathas. Dhadhi as a genre is also played by Muslims, but it is particularly associated with the Sikhs and with narratives of Sikh valor and sacrifice, especially stories of the famous martyrs and martyrdoms of Sikh tradition. While *kīrtan* attempts to elicit devotional and contemplative sentiments, dhadhi encourages *vīra rāsa*, or heroic reactions.

See also DHĀDĪ.

MUSLIM RELATIONS. In the time of the **Gurus**, the **Mughal** emperors, who were also Muslims, sometimes showed enmity toward them. This was particularly so during the period of the last three great Mughal emperors, **Jahangir**, **Shah Jahan**, and **Aurangzeb**. During this period there is little evidence of strong hostility toward the Muslims on the part of the **Sikhs**. In the 18th century, however, this hostility grew markedly in response to attacks by Mughals and later by Afghans (also Muslims). So powerful did the feeling become that several anti-Muslim injunctions are specifically written into the early **Rahit** as it evolved during the 18th century. Moreover, Sikh authors of the **gur-bilas** genre also began to color narratives of the Sikh past in the light of this contemporary hostility, making it appear (with only the rare exception) as if a Muslim threat to the Sikhs lurked behind every tree within the **Punjab**. Under **Ranjit Singh** the feeling subsided to some extent, but it has always remained in at least a subdued form within the **Panth**. In the events leading up to the **Partition** of India in 1947, the Sikhs, faced by the choice between the **Hindus** and the Muslims, chose to confront the Muslims. The bloody events that followed Partition produced the deepest bitterness. The Muslims of the Punjab felt the same with regard to both Sikhs and Hindus. During the struggle for **Khalistan** in the later 1980s, some efforts were made to reach agreement with the Muslims of Pakistan. It seems, however, that Pakistan's principal concern was embarrassment for India, and no lasting friendship resulted.

See also MUSLIM WOMEN.

MUSLIM WOMEN. Sources from the 18th century indicate that sexual contact with Muslim women was polluting, and **Guru Gobind Singh** is said to have commanded that during warfare they should not be seized for this purpose. This feature evidently perplexed the **Singh Sabha** reformers. **Kahn Singh Nabha** claimed that at the time most prostitutes were Muslim women and that the Guru's command can therefore be construed as a prohibition against sexual intercourse with any woman other than one's wife. This interpretation has been written into the contemporary **Rahit**, where it appears in **Sikh Rahit Marayada** as the third of the *kurahit*.

MY ATTEMPTED EXCOMMUNICATION FROM THE SIKH TEMPLES AND THE KHALSA COMMUNITY AT FARIDKOT IN 1887. Title of a short tract issued in 1898 and written by Professor **Gurmukh Singh** (who ran afoul of the **Amritsar Singh Sabha**, generally, and **Baba Khem Singh Bedi**, specifically) narrating events that led to the attempt to excommunicate Gurmukh Singh. In retaliation for such actions on the part of

the Amritsar Singh Sabha, Giani **Ditt Singh** wrote a drama entitled ***Svapan Nāṭak***, which satirized the antagonists of Gurmukh Singh just a few months after the event.

N

NABHA. One of the three **Phulkian** states. Like all three Phulkian states, it lay east of the Satluj, and therefore it was not absorbed by **Ranjit Singh** and became a princely state under British rule. After **Partition** it merged with other princely states to become the **Patiala** and Eastern Punjab States Union (**PEPSU**).

NADAR/NAZAR. *See* GRACE.

NADAUN, BATTLE OF. Fought on 20 March 1691 against **Mughal** imperial forces under Alif Khan. **Guru Gobind Singh** joined alongside a number of the Pahari rajas at the request of **Bhim Chand** of Bilaspur to fight back this challenge from the Mughals. The **Bachitar Natak** has a vivid description of the battle.

NADIR SHAH. The shah of Persia and raider of north India, appearing in **Lahore** in 1739 and sacking **Delhi** before withdrawing. Among his valuable loot was the Peacock Throne of the **Mughals**. **Sikhs** attacked the rear of his invading column as it withdrew, leading to a warning from Nadir Shah that these were enemies to be watched.

NAGĀRĀ. A large drum. Every **gurdwara** should possess one for special occasions. The origins are obscure, though it can be assumed to have played an important part in the martial activities of **Guru Gobind Singh**.

See also RANJĪT NAGĀRĀ.

NAGAR KĪRTAN. “Singing in town.” Taking the **Guru Granth Sahib** on procession through a town on a day of religious celebration such as a **gurpurab**, or religious fair. Following ceremonies at a **gurdwara**, the scripture is mounted above the cabin of a suitably decorated truck or other float. Preceded by **Panj Piare**, normally with unsheathed **swords** and often accompanied by a brass band, it leads a procession through the streets to the accompaniment of *kīrtan*.

See also MUSIC.

NAHAR KHAN. The general of the **Mughal** army sent against **Guru Gobind Singh** whom he fought at the Battle of **Chamkaur** and who is mentioned in the Guru's Persian epistle, the **Zafar-nama**. During the battle, states the *Zafar-nama*, Nahar Khan was killed by one of the Tenth Guru's arrows. This same general may also be the Nahar Khan mentioned in **Pakhyān Charitr** 404:202, **Dasam Granth**, p. 1373.

NAI. The barber **caste**. A few Nais became **Sikhs**. They are generally thought to form with members of the **Tarkhan** (carpenter) and Raj (blacksmith) castes the exclusively Sikh caste known as **Ramgarhia**. This is, however, disputed.

NAJABAT KHAN (?–1688). The skilled warrior who opposed the forces of **Guru Gobind Singh** during the **Battle of Bhangani**. When he confronted the Tenth Guru's cousin, **Sangram Shah**, on the battlefield, they managed to kill one another. The scene is depicted in the **Bachitar Natak**.

NAKKAI MISL. A small **misl** with territory bordering on **Multan**. **Ranjit Singh**, whose second wife was from the Nakkai misl, annexed its territories early in the 19th century.

NALAGARH. Formerly a small princely state. Because it was on the left bank of the Satluj, it was not absorbed by **Ranjit Singh** and instead became a princely state under British rule. After **Partition** it merged with other princely states to become the **Patiala** and Eastern Punjab States Union (**PEPSU**).

NĀM. The doctrine of the *nām* lies at the heart of **Nanak's** teaching, and in subsequent **Gurmat** it retains its primacy. The word means literally “**name**,” sometimes used in combinations such as *hari-nām* or *rām-nām* (the Name of **God**) but normally standing alone. It is a convenient shorthand, designating in summary terms the nature and being of **Akal Purakh**. Anything that may be affirmed concerning Akal Purakh is an aspect of the *nām*. This means that it embraces such concepts as love, power, omniscience, infinity, and other qualities of the divine. Ultimately, the *nām* is beyond human grasp, but to each person is given the means for a sufficient understanding of it. Akal Purakh resides immanently in this world. By opening one's eyes, inward as well as outward, one can perceive the *nām* in all its wonder and all its glory.

See also NĀM JAPAN; NĀM SIMARAN; SHABAD (SABAD).

NĀM DĀN ISHNĀN. “The divine **Name**, charity, and bathing.” A popular formula for spiritual liberation spelled out frequently in the **janam-sakhis**. The formula was used by both **Guru Nanak** and **Guru Arjan**, but in their case “bathing” probably meant inner purity.

NĀM JAPAN. “Repeating the **Name**.” *Nām japan* is a less sophisticated form of meditation than *nām simaran*. It consists of uttering a word, syllable, or mantra of particular religious import (e.g., *satnām*, *vāhigurū*) either as a pious ejaculation or a repeated utterance. For the latter procedure, a simarani (rosary) is commonly used. A more varied form, which may be characterized as either *nām simaran*, or *nām japan*, is singing or chanting *gurbāñī*. **Gurdwara** worship or daily **nit-nem** is thus legitimate meditation.

NĀM JAPO, KIRAT KĀRO, VAṆḌ CHHAKO. “Repeat the divine **Name**, work, and give a share [of your earnings to others less fortunate].” A popular proverb that sums up the duty laid on all **Sikhs**. It does not appear in the **Adi Granth**.

NĀM SIMARAN. The Sikh **meditation** technique. **Gurmat** affirms that liberation is attained primarily through the discipline of *nām simaran*, “remembering” the divine **Name**. By meditating regularly, one will progressively shed the bonds of *haumai*. The spirit is gradually liberated from the afflictions of **transmigration**, and finally the faithful disciple enters the condition of *sahaj*, or perfect peace. *See also* NĀM JAPAN.

NAMDEV (1270–1350). A poet of the Varkari bhakti sect of Pandharpur in Maharashtra. Sixty-one works (possibly 62) by Namdev appear in the **Adi Granth**, a number that is second only to **Kabir** in the **bhagat bani**. There is still some doubt whether the **Adi Granth** works are by the Pandharpur poet, and if so, whether Namdev ever paid an extended visit to the **Punjab**. The first of these is a strong likelihood, and the second is at least possible. In the village of Ghuman near Batala there exists a tradition of a lengthy visit and a very old *samādhī* (cenotaph).

NAMDHARI. An important **Sikh** sect, also known as the **Kuka** (crier) movement, owing to ecstatic practices performed during religious services. Earlier names were Jagiasi (worshiper) and Abhiasi (one who meditates). Originally, it developed in northwest **Punjab** through the preaching of **Balak Singh**, recognized as the eleventh **Guru** of the sect.

According to **orthodox** Sikh belief, the line of human Gurus ended with the death of the Tenth Guru, **Gobind Singh**, the function of the Guru thereafter exercised through the **Panth** and through the sacred book, the **Guru**

Granth Sahib. This belief is denied by the Namdharis. They maintain that the Tenth Guru lived for many years after 1708, eventually bestowing the succession personally on **Balak Singh**. They accordingly differ from the orthodox in claiming that the personal line of Gurus still continues. Following his death, the movement under its second leader, **Ram Singh**, shifted its center to **Bhaini Sahib** in Ludhiana District, where its numbers rapidly multiplied, most of its strength coming from **Tarkhans** and poorer **Jats**.

The British were very skeptical about their activities, and following an attack on **Muslim** butchers of **Amritsar** and Raikot (enemies because they were killers of cattle), they launched attacks on Malaud Fort and **Malerkotla** in 1872, both Muslim areas. The district commissioner of Ludhiana District then had 49 Namdharis (or **Kukas**) blown away from cannons without trial. Another 16 were similarly executed by the commissioner of Ambala after a summary trial. This, with the imprisonment of **Ram Singh** in Burma, served to quiet the situation and thereafter the Namdharis gave little trouble.

The Namdhari Sikhs are strict vegetarians and vigorous protectors of the cow. They attach equal importance to the **Adi Granth** and the **Dasam Granth**, and they include the Dasam Granth composition **Chandi ki Var** in their daily **Nit-nem**. All Namdharis are at least **Kes-dharis**. They wear only white homespun clothing, and the men are easily recognized by their method of tying turbans horizontally across the forehead. Their distinctive rituals include a fire ceremony (havan) and the practice of circumambulating a fire during the course of their wedding ceremony. These ceremonies are normally conducted with many couples being married at the same time. This is because the Namdharis insist on a simple, inexpensive way of life. Today almost all Namdharis are Tarkhans.

See also NĪL-DHĀRĪ.

NAME. For the divine Name.

See also NĀM.

NAMING CEREMONY. As soon as convenient after birth, the family should take the baby to their **gurdwara**, together with *karāh prasād*, and there give thanks. If a complete *paṭh* has been arranged, this visit should coincide with the **bhog**. The **Guru Granth Sahib** is then opened at random and a name is chosen beginning with the same letter as the first composition on the left-hand page. When a hymn begins on the preceding page (as is usually the case), the person selecting a letter turns back to its actual beginning. No distinction marks boys' and girls' names (either can, for example, have the name Prem), but to a boy's name "**Singh**" should be added (Prem Singh) and to a girl's name "**Kaur**" (Prem Kaur).

NANAKI. (1) The sister of **Guru Nanak**. (2) The second of **Guru Hargobind**'s three wives; the mother of **Tegh Bahadur**.

NANAK, GURU (1469–1539). The First **Guru** of the **Sikhs**. Sikhs date the foundation of the **Panth** from his life of teaching and example. Although there exist extensive hagiographic accounts of his life, known as **janam-sakhis**, little of the information they provide can be accepted as proven or even possible. His teachings are secure, however, as a large number of his authentic works are recorded in the **Adi Granth**. **Nanak** shares a particular place in Sikh sentiments with **Gobind Singh**. The life of simple piety that he lived, together with the beauty of his hymns, elicits firm loyalty and a deeply held affection.

See also NANAK, LIFE; NĀNAK-PANTH; NĀNAK-PARASTĀN; NANAK, TEACHINGS.

NANAK, LIFE. Ample knowledge of the teachings of **Nanak** contrasts with the scarcity of detail concerning his life. Although the **janam-sakhis** are strictly hagiographic, they have been widely accepted within the **Panth**, and the traditional account that they offer can be collectively summarized as follows. In 1469 Nanak, son of **Kalu Bedi** and **Tripata**, was born in the **Punjab** village of **Talvandi Rai Bhoi**. He had one sister, **Nanaki**; his wife's name was **Sulakhani**; and two sons (**Lakhmi Das** and **Siri Chand**) were born to them. Many stories are recounted in the **janam-sakhis** concerning the marvels associated with the child Nanak. A much favored one is the story of the ruined crop restored. The child Nanak was sent out to graze buffaloes and fell asleep beside a wheat field. While he slept, the buffaloes trampled on the crop and ate the wheat. The aggrieved owner rushed to **Rai Bular**, the village headman, and demanded restitution. Nanak replied that his buffaloes had done no harm to the crop. When Rai Bular sent a messenger to inspect the crop he discovered that Nanak spoke the truth. The crop was fully restored. Another favorite is the story of the tree's stationary shadow. Rai Bular was out hunting one day and observed the sleeping Nanak in the shadow under a tree. When he returned several hours later, the shadows cast by all the other trees in the grove had moved, but the one shielding Nanak had remained stationary.

As a young man Nanak was dispatched to **Sultanpur**, where he received a mystical call from **Akal Purakh (God)** to surrender himself to a life of preaching the one means of liberation, the divine **Name (nām)**. The **janam-sakhis** diverge at this point, and many modern **Sikhs** accept the pattern of the **Purātan** **janam-sakhis**. These take Nanak on a series of travels, dividing them into four major (and one minor) missionary journeys. On the major journeys (known as *udāsīs*), he visited, respectively, east India, Sri Lanka,

the legendary **Mount Sumeru**, and Mecca. After they were over, he founded the village of **Kartarpur** on the right bank of the Ravi River, northeast of **Lahore**. Having attracted a following that was the nucleus of the Panth and appointed **Angad** as his successor, he died there in 1539. This is the traditional account that is found in the *janam-sakhis*. Certain facts can be affirmed. Details concerning his family relationships are generally accurate; he traveled extensively to places unknown; he spent his latter years in Kartarpur; and Angad succeeded him. Of the remainder, however, very little stands up to historical analysis.

See also NANAK, TEACHINGS; TRADITION.

NANAK, TEACHINGS. **Guru Nanak** taught a doctrine of liberation closely modeled on that of the **Sant Tradition** of northern India, and his numerous hymns are contained in the **Adi Granth**. In these hymns he holds up the *nām* (the divine **Name**) as the sole and sufficient means of liberation. All people are subject to **transmigration** in accordance with their past deeds, but by devoutly meditating on the divine Name they can overcome their evil impulses and attain liberation from the transmigratory round. The divine Name comprises all that is around one and all that is within, functioning in accordance with the *hukam* (order) of **Akal Purakh (God)**. Akal Purakh utters the *shabad* (the divine **Word**) and the divine Word, if heard, illumines all that constitutes the divine Name.

For this, **grace** is essential. Having received the divine Word by grace, it is each person's choice to accept or reject it. Accept it and you will perceive the signs of the divine Name in the world around and within you. Meditate on it and you shall find the means of liberation progressively revealed. Ascending to higher and yet higher levels of mystical experience, the devout practitioner of *nām simaran* (remembrance of the Name) experiences a mounting sense of peace and joy. Eventually *sach khand* is reached, the "abode of truth," in which the believer passes into a condition of perfect and absolute union with Akal Purakh. This condition is beyond description, known only to those who have experienced its transcending wonders. They are the **sants**, the ones who know the truth, and they alone have found freedom from the transmigratory round. This Word is uttered within the believer by the mystical "voice" of Akal Purakh that is the **Guru**. Nanak, in communicating the Word, was performing this function, and so he came to be known as Guru Nanak. In appointing a successor, Nanak was passing on the role of Guru as one torch is lit from its predecessor. The one Guru passed along the line of 10 chosen men, the Guru who illuminated the words and actions of **Gobind Singh** being the same Guru as had found expression in Nanak.

See also PAÑJ KHAND.

NĀNAK-PANTH. “The way of **Nanak**.” A term commonly used for the entire pre-**Khalsa Sikh Panth** or for those post-**Khalsa** Sikhs who do not follow the **Rahit**. *Nānak-panthī* was frequently used for any **Sikh** prior to 1699, and the term is still sometimes used for a **Sahaj-dhari Sikh**.

NĀNAK-PARASTĀN. “The worshippers of **Nanak**.” The term that often is used to describe **Sikhs** in Indo-Islamic Persian accounts.

NANAKSAR. A **Sikh** movement that originated with Nand Singh (d. 1943) of Kaleran village near Jagroan in Ludhiana District. Nand Singh, a **Ramgarhia**, spent some time at Hazur Sahib in Nander and then traveled around the **Punjab** for many years, living a life of extreme austerity. He eventually returned to Kaleran in 1918 and stayed in the nearby wilderness where Nanaksar now stands. There he continued his life of austerity, practicing *nām simaran* in *bhore* (holes, caves) and refusing to allow any building to be erected. He believed that **Nanak** had physically appeared to him out of the **Guru Granth Sahib**.

Nand Singh was succeeded by his devoted follower Ishar Singh, a **Jat** under whom the Nanaksar movement rapidly expanded. In 1950 the **gurdwara** at Nanaksar was commenced, a magnificent marble structure that enclosed, beneath its golden dome, an underground room to represent a bhora. Ishar Singh nominated no successor, and the movement has now divided under several leaders. One with a substantial following in Coventry and Vancouver is Mihan Singh. Some differences distinguish the Nanaksar movement from the orthodox **Khalsa**. Devotion is focused strongly on **Nanak** (though the other **Gurus** are not excluded), the emphasis on austerity is still maintained, and no *nishān* flies above the gurdwaras. The movement claims to take no interest in politics.

See also ORTHODOXY.

NANAKSHAHI CALENDAR. Recently devised by a **Canadian Sikh**, Pal Singh Purewal, the Nanakshahi calendar claims to have solved the problem of important dates that move around the calendar annually when an attempt is made to follow the **Sammat**, or **Bikrami**, system of dating in countries where **San**, or common era, dating is followed. Until recently, Sikhs followed the **Sammat**, or **Bikrami**, system like Hindus, with the result that key dates would move around segments of the common-era calendar without having any fixed position. The traditional birth of **Guru Nanak**, for example, had different dates in successive years. Like the Gregorian calendar, the **Sammat/Bikrami** calendar has 12 months in the year, but these are lunar months; to keep the system in order, an extra lunar month is added when need arises. By contrast, the Gregorian calendar has a short February and

adds to it a day every four years, except when the leap year falls on the change to another century. The Nanakshahi calendar ensures that all important dates fall on the same day as the Gregorian calendar indicates.

In January 2003 the Nanakshahi calendar was approved by the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC)**. Both the **Bikrami** civil year and the Nanakshahi year commence on Chet 1, which in the case of the latter is always 14 March. Baisakh (or Vaisakh) is the second month, but for the **Punjab** peasantry, with their harvest due, it was a more convenient time for the new year to begin. **Baisakhi**, or the beginning of the month, always falls on 14 April. Similarly, **Guru Gobind Singh**'s birth would always be celebrated on 5 January. The dates of the other **gurpurbs** were also fixed. In accepting this new arrangement, the **Akal Takhat**, acting for the SGPC, declared that **Guru Nanak**'s birthday would be an exception and would be celebrated every year according to the Bikrami calendar. This meant that it would always be celebrated on Kattak **Puranmashi** (the full moon in the lunar month of Kattak). That date, together with **Divali** and **Hola Mohalla**, is movable and, following the Bikrami calendar, changes every year. Kattak Puran-mashi was too deeply rooted in the Sikh faith for it to be abandoned. The other dates continued on the Bikrami calendar to maintain unity in the celebration of common cultural traditions by both Sikhs and Hindus in India. Similarly, **Basant** and **Lohri** also follow the old calendar.

See also FESTIVALS.

NANAK SINGH (1897–1971). Famous Punjabi Sikh novelist.

See also LITERATURE.

NAND CHAND. A member of the court of **Guru Gobind Singh** who as a child had been one of the future Tenth Guru's playmates. Nand Chand fought in the Battle of Bhangani and was noted for his bravery in the **Bachitar Natak**.

NAND LAL (1633–c. 1715). According to Sikh tradition, Nand Lal was a **Sikh** poet born in Ghazni. From there he traveled to **Delhi** via **Multan**, where he married a Sikh wife. He worked as a servant of Prince Mu'azzam (later Shah Alam and **Bahadur Shah**), but his real skill lay in composing Persian poetry. To mark this, he adopted or was made to adopt the pen name Goya (Eloquent) although in the lengthier Persian works attributed to him, that is, the '*Arżulalfāz* (Exposition of Terms) and the *Tausīf o Sanā*' (Description and Praise), he goes by the sobriquet, La'l (Ruby). It was perhaps in 1689 that he moved to **Anandpur** (although the *Gurū kīān Sākhīān* men-

tions 1682 as the probable year), where he entered the service of **Guru Gobind Singh**, and it is as a Sikh poet that his reputation was securely established.

Two of his collections, his *Dīvān* and the *Zindagī-nāmā*, merit special attention. The vast majority of early manuscripts of these works often appear combined together and in Gurmukhi script, suggesting their importance to the 18th-century Sikh Panth. Because both works are in Persian, however, they are little read today, although manuscript frequency makes it clear that these were quite popular in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Tradition continues that it was through the intercession of Nand Lal that Guru Gobind Singh and the emperor Bahadur Shah became acquaintances while the latter was still the prince. After the death of Gobind Singh, family tradition claims that Nand Lal retired to Multan, dying there probably in 1713. Like most other **Khatris**, he may have declined to take initiation into the **Khalsa**, and perhaps for this reason his poetry reads much more like the devotional works of the early **Gurus**. There are factors, however, that contest the claims that he was a non-Khalsa Sikh. Nand Lal, for example, does praise the Khalsa in his Persian *Khatimah* (Conclusion), the final section of the *Tausīf o Sanā*, which may suggest that he was initiated into the order but simply kept his now-famous pen name after initiation. Although this may strengthen the understanding that Nand Lal was also the author of the three **Punjabi Khalsa rahit-namas** attributed to him, the highly pedestrian nature of these three works strongly disputes this assertion. The same false ascription is probably the case for the Persian couplet regarding the **Five Ks** that one finds within the extracanonical *kabbits* completing the Dasam Granth that is popularly attributed to Nand Lal.

See also ASFOTAK KABITT; LITERATURE; PRASHĀN-UTTAR; SĀKHĪ RAHIT KĪ; TANAKHĀH-NĀMĀ.

NAND RAM. A poet in the **darbar** of **Guru Gobind Singh** who, tradition maintains, was earlier in the service of **Dara Shikoh**, similar to the narrative regarding **Nand Lal Goya**'s father, Chajju Ram.

NAND SINGH. *See* NANAKSAR.

NANDER (NANDED). A town situated in eastern Maharashtra on the Godavari River. **Guru Gobind Singh** died here in 1708 following an assassination attempt. In **Sikh** sources the town is commonly known as **Abilchalnagar** (Resolute City). Hazur Sahib, the principal **gurdwara** of Nander, is one of the five **takhats**.

NANKANA MASSACRE. Because of his immoral way of life, Narain Das, custodian of the **Nankana Sahib gurdwaras** and the wealthiest of all the **mahants**, was a particular target for the **Akalis** during the **Gurdwara Reform Movement** of the early 1920s. A group of Akalis entered **Gurdwara Janam-asthan** on 20 February 1921, and were set upon by hired thugs of Narain Das; 130 Sikhs were killed. Three of the killers were executed, and Narain Das was transported for life. The incident had a considerable effect on **Sikhs** everywhere and greatly strengthened their resolve to free the gurdwaras from their mahant owners.

NANKANA SAHIB. The birthplace of **Guru Nanak**. Formerly called **Talvandi Rai Bhoi**, it is in Sheikhpura District, approximately 40 miles west-southwest of **Lahore** and now in Pakistan. It contains several **gurdwaras**, including **Gurdwara Janam-asthan**, which marks the birthplace of **Nanak**.

NANU, BHAI. One of the Sikhs who along with Bhai **Jaïta** carried the severed head of **Guru Tegh Bahadur** to **Anandpur**.

NANUA VAIRAGI. One of the poets attached to the **darbar** of **Guru Gobind Singh**.

See also LITERATURE.

NAQQĀLĪ. The Punjabi word is derived from Persian, which means “imitation” or “storytelling.” In Punjabi, however, it represents a distinct style of Punjabi singing.

See also MUSIC.

NARAK. “Hell.” As with **svarag** (heaven), this term is variously understood. Those who are well acquainted with the **Adi Granth** regard it as the condition of separation from **God**. This is the sense in which the word is used by the **Gurus**, as also in their references to **Yam**, the god of death. Many **Sikhs**, however, conceive **narak** as a place where evil people go after death. The origin of this latter belief among the Sikhs is presumably Islam.

NASĪHAT-NĀMĀ. “Missive of Good Advice.” (1) A work spuriously attributed to **Guru Nanak**. (2) The correct name for the *Tanakhāh-nāmā* of **Nand Lal**.

NATH TRADITION. The ascetic Nath, or Kanphat, tradition of India comprises a cluster of yogic sects, all claiming descent from the semi-legendary **Gorakhnath** and all promulgating *haṭha yoga* as the means of spiritual liberation. This involves physical postures and breath control of formidable

difficulty. The tradition figured prominently among the early **Sikhs** for two reasons. First, the **Sant** tradition of northern India, of which **Nanak** was a conspicuous representative, was significantly influenced by Nath ideals, though the Sants (including Nanak) strongly opposed their theories. Nath doctrine affirms that the rigorous application of hatha yoga induces a psycho-physical process whereby the spirit ascends to mystical bliss. The Sants rejected the physical features of hatha yoga in favor of meditation technique but accepted the concept of a spiritual ascent to ultimate bliss. **Kabir** was a notable Sant apparently connected to the Nath. He scorned their physical notions while accepting their belief in a wholly inward spiritual enlightenment. Second, the Nath was also important to the early **Panth** in that they provided considerable competition for followers. **Janam-sakhi** anecdotes give much prominence to debates between Nath masters (called **Siddhs**) and Nanak. The tradition, though greatly weakened, still survives. It derives the name of Kanphat yogis from the practice of splitting their ears and lengthening the lobes.

NATTHA, BHAI. The companion of **Bhai Abdulla** (known simply as Abdul) who formed the first dhadhi jatha of the Sikh tradition and who sang in front of the newly established **Akal Takhat** in 1606. The tradition of **dhadhis** performing in front of the Akal Takhat continues to this day.

See also ABDULLA, BHAI; DHĀDĪ; MUSIC.

NAUJAVAN BHARAT SABHA. “Youngmen’s India Association.” Established in 1928 at Jallianwala Bagh, it included such Sikhs as Sohan Singh Josh. Its goal was to secure independence in India. It was disbanded in 1934.

NAU NIDH. The “nine treasures.” Used in the **Adi Granth** to denote fabulous wealth. *Nām simaran* brings all these treasures.

NAU NIHAL SINGH (1821–1840). Son of **Kharak Singh** and grandson of **Ranjit Singh**. A capable youth, he assumed the state’s administration soon after his grandfather’s death. He was killed on the day of his father’s funeral by a collapsing arch in **Lahore**. Following his death, the **Punjab** state fell into confusion.

NEO-SIKH. *See* TAT KHĀLSĀ.

NEW ZEALAND SIKHS. The first **Sikhs** to enter New Zealand were two Gill brothers who crossed the Tasman Straits in or around 1890. Initially the few Sikhs who were in New Zealand did a variety of jobs, such as hawking and coal mining. After World War I their numbers began to increase substan-

tially and in 1920 the government moved to block future immigration. Until after World War II those who remained worked at clearing manuka and gorse in the central North Island. Since then they have moved increasingly into dairy farming, small grocery businesses, and gas stations. Like the **Australian Sikhs** they number only 0.06 percent of the population.

See also MIGRATION.

NIHANG. Today the Nihangs form only a remnant of their initial strength of the 18th and early 19th centuries. At that time they were known as **Akalis** (one often came across the term “Akali-Nihang” for those Nihangs of high rank designated sartorially by a small *farlā*, or “flag,” symbolic of the Khalsa standard, protruding from their conical turban) and were greatly feared as determined warriors. The origins of the Akalis, or Nihangs, are not known, although they claim to be the true representatives of **Guru Gobind Singh** and in consequence the true **Khalsa**. In the time of the **misl**s they usually fought for the **Shahid misl**. Under **Ranjit Singh**, they were renowned both for their intrepid bravery and their total lack of discipline except when controlled by other Akalis. After the death of their famous leader **Phula Singh** in 1823 they dwindled in importance.

Although they were previously regarded merely as a historic relic, the traditions of the Nihang have found new life at the beginning of the 21st century as young Sikhs throughout the **United Kingdom** and western **Canada** have begun to train in what is generally referred to as *shastar-vidayā*, or “weapon knowledge” (that is said to have been inaugurated by the Sixth Sikh Guru, **Guru Hargobind**), and have sought out Nihang weapons masters within the **Punjab** for just such training. There are a number of gurdwaras throughout rural Punjab, moreover, that are managed by Nihang groups.

Despite these rather famous associations, many Nihangs in India are seen by others as having two main vices: their fondness for *bhang* (cannabis) and their habit of not paying for anything they require. They are, however, generally rigorous in observing the **Rahit** as they understand it and are also known for a colorful metaphorical language popularly referred to as *bol balā*. The name “Nihang” may come from its Persian version meaning “crocodile,” but the more fanciful interpretation holds that Nihang means “free from care” or “free from worldly concerns” and may have been taken from the pre-initiation name of Akali Phula Singh.

See also NIHANG ORGANIZATION.

NIHANG ORGANIZATION. The **Nihangs** are divided into four “armies” (dal), each under its own **jathedar**. These are the **Taruna Dal**, the Baba Bidhi Chand Dal, the Baba Bhindran Dal, and the **Buddhā Dal**. Most are unmarried, believing that as true soldiers of the **Khalsa** they must remain

unencumbered by family ties. For part of each year they remain in their “camps” (*deṛā*), attending to cultivation. At other times they roam around the **Punjab** and adjacent states on horseback, conspicuously visible in their blue garments and for the range of steel weapons they carry. On their heads they wear a high turban known as a *damālā*, surmounted by a piece of cloth called a *pharaharā* (standard or flag). For the festival of **Hola Mahalla**, they converge on **Anandpur** to participate in mock battles.

NĪL-DHĀRĪ. “Wearer of a blue [belt].” A small subsect of the **Namdhari Sikhs**, the vast majority of whom live in Southeast Asia, particularly in Bangkok.

NĪL GHORĀ. “The blue horse.” A stallion of which **Guru Gobind Singh** was particularly fond. This fondness gave rise to one of the epithets of the Tenth Master, *nīl ghorevālā*, “Rider of the Blue Horse.”

NINDAK. A slanderer, one who defames another. The term is particularly used of those who spoke ill of one of the **Gurus**.

NINE TREASURES. All blessings that may be conferred in this life.

NIRANĀJAN. “Unspotted.” Pure; an epithet of **Akal Purakh**.

NIRANĀJANĪ. *See* HINDALI.

NIRANKĀR. “Without form.” An epithet of **Akal Purakh**.

NIRANKARI. A **Sikh** sect that developed in northwest **Punjab** during the later years of Maharaja **Ranjit Singh**. The original Nirankaris were the followers of Baba **Dayal**, who preached a return to the doctrine of *nām simaran*. Most were members of trading castes and were called Nirankaris because of Dayal’s stress on the formless nature of **God** (*nirankār*). The sect includes both **Kes-dhari** and **Sahaj-dhari Sikhs**, and outwardly they are indistinguishable from most other Sikhs. The acceptance of **Anand marriage** by orthodox Sikhs settled the main issue separating them from the main body, and today the Nirankaris deviate only in that they recognize a line of continuing **Gurus**, beginning with Baba Dayal. With the **Partition** of India in 1947, they shifted their main center from **Rawalpindi** to **Chandigarh**. They should be distinguished from the **Sant Nirankaris**, a small group viewed with hostility by orthodox Sikhs and Nirankaris alike.

See also ORTHODOXY.

NIRANKĀRĪ DARBĀR. *See* SANT NIRANKARI.

NIRGUṆA. Without “qualities” or attributes; doctrine of a formless **Akal Purakh**.

See also SAGUṆA.

NIRMALA. “Spotless.” By tradition, the order of Nirmala **Sants** was founded by **Guru Gobind Singh**, who dispatched five **Sikhs** to Banaras to learn Sanskrit. This is highly improbable, and the Nirmala order is scarcely mentioned in Sikh literature until the 19th century. It acquired particular strength in the Malwa region in the 19th century because of patronage from the Sikh rulers of **Patiala** and other **Phulkian** states. Although it is accepted as a part of the **Panth**, its ascetic discipline deviates from Sikh teachings and practice. Its members wear saffron robes and observe celibacy, and its teachings are strongly Vedantic. As itinerant preachers, they did much to commend Sikh teachings beyond the **Punjab**. Although some of their doctrines met with disapproval from the **Tat Khalsa**, they were regarded cordially by **Sanatan Sikhs**. A famous Nirmala scholar was **Tara Singh Narotam**.

See also AKHĀRĀ.

NISHĀN SĀHIB. The **Khalsa** flag, which should fly above every **gurdwara**. It is usually triangular in shape and saffron in color. Dark blue is also permitted. The mast will be draped in cloth of the same color (the *cholā*). On the flag should be embroidered or printed a *khaṇḍā*, and it should be surmounted by a steel spear, a two-edged **sword**, or another *khaṇḍā*. The origins are obscure. It was certainly being used in the 19th century, though without the *khaṇḍā* on it. At any gurdwara which flies a *nishān* Sikhs are first enjoined to pay their respects to this flag as it is usually the first element of the gurdwara which they see. Such respects are generally demonstrated by touching the base of the flag or circumambulating it.

NISHANVALIA MISL. A small **misl**. The founder was a Gill **Jat** from Firozpur District, but its territory is uncertain. Whereas some historians place it southeast of the Satluj River, others believe it was kept as a reserve force in **Amritsar**. The name means “flag bearing.”

NIT-NEM. The daily devotional discipline for all **Sikhs**. Three times are appointed: (1) between 3:00 and 6:00 A.M., after bathing, **Japji**, **Jap**, and the **Ten Savayys**, concluding with **Ardas**; (2) at sunset, **Raharas**, with **Ardas**; and (3) before retiring, **Kirtan Sohila**.

NUMISMATICS. Since the time of **Banda**, the Sikhs have issued coins in territories they controlled. A particularly celebrated coin was the Nanakshahi or Gobindshahi rupee struck in **Amritsar** in 1764 where the Sikh **misldars** had gathered following the sixth invasion of **Ahmad Shah Abdali**. On the coin there was the slogan, cast in Persian, “*Deg tegh o fateh nusrat be-dirang / Yaft az Nānak Gurū Gobind Singh*” (The cooking pot, power, victory [and] assistance without delay / Are the gifts of Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh). Particularly prolific were the coins struck in the reign of **Ranjit Singh**.

O

OAK CREEK, WISCONSIN. On 5 August 2012, a White gunman opened fire at the **gurdwara** in Oak Creek, Wisconsin, killing six people. This horrific event caused a number of Sikh groups throughout the **United States**, **Canada**, and **Europe** to further educate non-Sikhs about their tradition.

OANĀKĀR. *See* IK-OANĀKĀR.

OANĀKĀRU. Composition of **Guru Nanak** in *rāg ramkālī*. Its full title is *ramkālī dakhaṇī oanākāru*.

See also MUSIC.

OBEDIENCE. A prime virtue among the **Sikhs**. Children are expected to show implicit obedience to their parents, and all Sikhs should be obedient to any command that carries the sanction of the **Guru**.

OBSCENITY. **Punjabi** is a very colorful language, and particularly in rural **Punjab** it produces some very robust expressions. These expressions are sometimes used with the intention of giving insult, but normally they are harmless (if somewhat upsetting to delicate ears). Swear words center on kinship relationships. They never concern the **Gurus**.

OCHTERLONY, SIR DAVID (1758–1825). Ochterlony has the distinction of being one of only a small handful of Europeans who find mention in the early accounts of the Sikhs, in his case in **Ratan Singh Bhangu**’s *Gurpanth Parkāsh*. He was the British resident at **Delhi**, and while there he invested much effort into ensuring that friendly relations between the British and the Cis-Sutlej Sikh chieftains would be maintained.

OPERATION BLUE STAR. The code name for the Indian army’s assault on the **Golden Temple** complex in **Amritsar** that began on 3 June and ended on 8 June 1984. The purpose of the operation was to dislodge from the complex **Sikh** militants led by **Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale**, all of whom

were alleged to have been stockpiling weapons within the precincts of Hari-
mandir Sahib, an issue which is contested by many later interpreters of the
traumatic event. Although the assault on the Golden Temple is best known as
Operation Blue Star, it also involved army actions against a large number of
rural **gurdwaras**. Blue Star was quickly followed by Operation Wood Rose,
which aimed to secure any suspected Sikh militants throughout the **Punjab**
countryside. Many Indian soldiers and Sikh militants, including Jarnail
Singh, were killed in the action as too were approximately 500 Sikh pilgrims
who had visited the complex to observe the *shahīdī divas*, or martyrdom
commemoration, of **Guru Arjan**'s execution in 1605. The consequences of
this action were many, two of which were the assassination of Prime Minister
Indira Gandhi on 31 October 1984 and the subsequent Sikh pogroms
throughout India's capital.

OPERATION BLACK THUNDER. The code name for two army actions
that took place in April and May 1988 that attempted to further secure Sikh
militants in the wake of Operations **Blue Star** and Wood Rose. The second
was overseen by **K. P. S. Gill**.

ORTHODOXY. In the **Panth** there is, as one would expect, a continuum
from orthodoxy through semi-orthodoxy to sect to heresy. Orthodox Sikhs
constitute the **Khalsa**. They believe in the 10 **Gurus**, revere the **Guru**
Granth Sahib, and accept the **Rahit** as set out in **Sikh Rahit Marayada**.
Examples of those who differ in detail from the orthodox (the semi-ortho-
dox) are the **Nanaksar** movement or the **Akhand Kirtani Jatha**. Arguably,
the **Nirankaris** would also be included in this group, because although they
agree that the line of personal Gurus has ended, they nevertheless accept as
leader a person who is called a Guru. They could, however, be regarded as a
sect. This term can be applied to those who differ in some fundamental
respect from the orthodox. The **Namdharis** are a sect, as they believe in the
continuing line of personal Gurus yet explicitly maintain the **Rahit**. Many
Sikhs would also regard **Sahaj-dharis** as a sect, accepting as they do the
Gurus and the scripture but rejecting the **Rahit**. Heresy means that a group
with Sikh origins has departed in a radical sense from orthodoxy. The **Sant**
Nirankaris, with their belief in a scripture larger than the **Guru Granth**
Sahib, are regarded as committing heresy.

P

PAG, PAGARĪ. *See* TURBAN.

PAHARE. “Watches.” The title of two hymns by **Guru Nanak**, one by **Guru Ram Das**, and a final one by **Guru Arjan**.

PAHĀRĪ RĀJĀS. From the word *pahār*, which means “hill,” the Pahari rajas were the **Rajput** rulers of the various hill kingdoms that dotted the Shivalik range of mountains in the **Punjab**, the most prominent of which was Bilaspur/Kahlur. **Guru Gobind Singh** was one among them after he had inherited the village of Makhawal, which was purchased by his father, **Guru Tegh Bahadur**, from the raja of Bilaspur prior to 1665. The various intrigues of these rajas and the Tenth Guru’s conflicts and unions with them are narrated in the **Bachitar Natak**.

PAHLĀVĀNĪ. (Persian: “Heroism.”) The traditional Punjabi sport of wrestling that is commonly found throughout northern India, which combines traditional Indian with traditional Iranian wrestling. Wrestling terminology often figures in the hymns of the **Sikh Gurus** and within Sikh practice. The spaces allocated for **Udasi** and **Nirmala** Sikhs, for example, are referred to as *akhārās*, or wrestling arenas.

PĀHUL. *See* KHAṆḌE DĪ PĀHUL.

PAINDA KHAN (?–1635). A Muslim who entered the service of **Guru Hargobind**. His enormous physical strength turned him to insolence, and having been detected in deceit, he was dismissed. He became the **Guru**’s enemy and was slain by Hargobind at **Kartarpur**.

PAINTĪ. “Thirty-Five.” The term refers to the **Gurmukhi** script, which is composed of 35 characters in total.

PAINTĪS AKHARĪ. “The Thirty-Five Letters.” A poem that is sometimes wrongly attributed to **Guru Nanak**.

PAKHYĀN CHARITRA. A lengthy series of 404 anecdotes in the **Dasam Granth**, many of which tell of the skills that women bring to the art of seduction. This section is also known as the *Charitropākhyān*. The language is **Braj**, and the total number of verses is 7,558. These stories are drawn from a wide range of sources (Epic, Puranic, **Rajput**, Persian, and native **Punjabī**). **Benati Chaupai**, included in **Sodar Raharas**, appears as an epilogue. Because the Dasam Granth is generally regarded as a sacred scripture, the collection is usually interpreted as a series of cautionary tales to protect careless men from the perils of lust. In some cases in the 18th and 19th centuries, the Pakhyān Charitr appears as a singular manuscript divorced from the Dasam Granth. **Nihang** Sikhs attach a special importance to the text. Recent scholarship has speculated that the charitrs within the text were partially meant to familiarize its readers with the wider world.

See also ANUP KAUR; GENDER; LITERATURE; TRĪĀ CHARITRA.

PĀK NĀMAH. An apocryphal text attributed to **Guru Nanak**. It is also known as the *Makke Madīne dī Goshtī*.

PALKĪ. “Palanquin.” A litter in which the **Guru Granth Sahib** is carried; the canopied structure in a **gurdwara** where the Guru Granth Sahib is placed.

PANCHAMĪ. The fifth day of each half of the lunar calendar.

See also AMĀVAS; SAṄGRAND; PŪRAN-MĀSHĪ.

PANCH KHĀLSĀ DĪVĀN. *See* BHASAU SINGH SABHA.

PANDHA. A well-known singer from the time of **Guru Amar Das**.

See also MUSIC.

PAṄGAT. “Line.” The lines in which the **sangat** must sit in the **gurdwara** and particularly in the **langar**. The convention is anticaste, no one being able to claim superior status by sitting forward or to acknowledge inferiority by sitting back.

PANJAB KAUR (?–1741). The widow of **Ram Rai** who, tradition notes, sought **Guru Gobind Singh**’s intercession in a dispute between herself and **masands** as to the succession of **Ram Rai**’s office.

PAÑJĀ SĀHIB. “The Holy Palm.” A location near Hasan Abdal in Attock District, where **Nanak** is said to have stopped with his hand a boulder rolled down the hill by a jealous Muslim dervish called Vali Qandhari. Vali Qandhari became enraged when Nanak opened a spring at the foot of the hill, thereby cutting off his own spring farther up the hill. The anecdote is a late entrant into the **Bala janam-sakhis**, owing its origins to a story dating from the time of Maharaja **Ranjit Singh**. The story is plainly an impossibility. Not only is there the problem with the handprint but a rock rolled down the hill from Vali Qandhari’s abode would not have gone in the direction of the rock that bears the handprint. Until 1940 the “impression” of Nanak’s palm projected from the rock, and only in that year was it carved into it. There is a famous **gurdwara** on the spot.

PAÑJ GRANTHĪ. A book that contains five favorite works of the **Sikhs**. There are at least three versions. **Japji** is always included, plus such compositions as **Sukhmani**, **Sodar Raharas**, **Kirtan Sohila**, **Asa di Var**, and **Anand Sahib**.

See also DAS GRANTHĪ.

PAÑJ GUṆ. The five virtues: **truth**, contentment, compassion, patience, and fulfillment of one’s **dharma**.

PAÑJ HATHIĀR. *See* FIVE WEAPONS.

PAÑJ ISHNĀN (PAÑJ ISNĀN, PAÑJ SNĀN). The “five washings” (two hands, two feet, and mouth) to be undertaken before meditation or before entering a **gurdwara** when full bathing is not practical.

See also ISHNĀN.

PAÑJ KAKKAR, PAÑJ KAKKE. *See* FIVE Ks.

PAÑJ KHAṆḌ. The five “realms” that **Nanak** describes in **Japji**. These are stages of developing spiritual awareness through which one must pass, by means of regular *nām simaran*, to union with the divine. The five realms are *dharam khaṇḍ* (moral duty), *giān khaṇḍ* (knowledge), *saram khaṇḍ* (humility or effort), *karam khaṇḍ* (**grace**, action, or fulfillment), and *sach khaṇḍ* (truth). Debate continues regarding the nature of the third and fourth realms. The origins of this pattern have been the subject of various theories. One traces it to the **Sufis**. Another holds that it represents Nanak’s adaptation of **hatha yoga** doctrine, with the five *khaṇḍ*s replacing the *chakkars* of the **Naths**. There is no suggestion, however, that Nanak actually accepted Nath theory.

See also NANAK, TEACHINGS.

PAÑJ MEL. The five reprobate groups that members of the **Khalsa** must swear to spurn. The identity of the five has never been settled. The **Minas** and the **Masands** are in every list; the **Dhir Malias** and **Ram Raias** are usually included. The fifth group is much disputed, however. The earliest list names the Masandias (followers of the **Masands**). Other candidates are those who kill female infants (*kurī-mār*), those who observe the head-shaving ritual (*bhadaṇī*), users of the **hookah** (*naṛī-mār*), and **Amrit-dhari Sikhs** who subsequently cut their hair (*sir-gum*). During the **Singh Sabha** period, much attention was paid to the question, and the list that was finally agreed on included the four usual groups together with those who are *sir-gum*. Today's **rahit-nama**, **Sikh Rahit Marayada**, avoids the issue by naming seven groups as “transgressors” (*tanakhāhie*) to be avoided by Amrit-dhari Sikhs.

PAÑJ MUKTE. According to the **rahit-nama** attributed to Bhai **Daya Singh**, these “five liberated ones” were the next five Sikhs who took initiation into the **Khalsa** after the Cherished Five.

PAÑJ PIĀRE. The “Cherished Five” or “Five Loved Ones.” The first five to volunteer at the inauguration of the **Khalsa**. These were **Daya Singh**, **Dhar-am Singh**, **Himmat Singh**, **Sahib Singh**, and **Muhakam Singh** (respectively, a **Khatri**, a **Jat**, a **Jhinvar**, a **Nai**, and a **Chhimbar**). In 18th- and 19th-century Sikh texts, these five (with the exception of Himmat Singh who, we are told, previously lived as a hunter—*badhak*, or *phandak*) along with **Guru Gobind Singh** were set within a cosmological framework in which each was an incarnation of a deity (the Tenth Master as an **avatar** of Vishnu), a Hindu demi-god (Daya Singh as an avatar of Lav, the son of Rama), or of earlier Hindu saints (**Nam Dev**, **Sain**, and **Dhanna**, respectively). Presumably the name **Singh** was added when they were initiated. Today the term designates five **Amrit-dhari Sikhs** who are chosen to represent a *saṅgat* at a Khalsa initiation or for any other function. For Khalsa initiation they must be physically sound, possessing both eyes, ears, legs, and arms. In theory, **women** may serve as Panj Piare, though in practice men are almost always chosen.

See also AMRIT SANSKĀR; KHALSA INAUGURATION.

PAÑJ SATI NAU LAGĀ RAKHAN. “One who practices the five [virtues], the seven [perceptions], and the nine [styles of worship].” An injunction believed to have been handed down by **Guru Gobind Singh** playing on a concept within pranayam yoga in which the five, seven, and nine breaths are slowly and steadily retained.

PAÑJ ṬHAG. “The five thugs”: power, wealth, high **caste**, youth, and beauty. Five desires that seduce a person from remembrance of the divine **Name**.

PAÑJ VIKĀR. *See* FIVE EVIL IMPULSES.

PANTH. The **Sikh** community. The Sanskrit word *panth* (literally, “path”) is used in India to designate groups following particular teachers or doctrines. The early Sikh community was thus known as the **Nanak-panth**, or “followers of **Nanak**.” After the **Khalsa** was established, Nanak’s name was dropped, and the community came to be known simply as “the Panth.” Doubt remains concerning who belongs to the Panth, though the term tends to be used for **Kes-dhari Sikhs**. Many **Sahaj-dharis** still prefer the title “Nanak-panth,” using “**Khalsa Panth**” for the Kes-dharis. In a script that employs capital letters, “panth” designates any of the innumerable religious groups in India, whereas “Panth” is reserved for the Sikh community alone. As such, the capitalized form is an extremely important word, one that deserves to be a part of normal English usage. The Sikh community is the Panth just as Christians constitute the Church.

PANTHIC. Concerning the **Panth**.

PANTH PARKĀSH (GIANI GIAN SINGH). *See* SRĪ GUR-PANTH PRAKĀSH.

PANTH PARKĀSH (RATAN SINGH BHANGU). *See* PRĀCHĪN PANTH PARKĀSH.

PAONTA SAHIB. A small town in the **Shivalik Hills** near Nahan. Here, on the banks of the Yamuna River, **Guru Gobind Singh** lived from 1685 to 1688.

See also MEDINI PRAKASH (?–1704).

PĀP. That which is religiously immoral. Often this word is translated as “sin.”

PARAMĀTMĀ. The universal or cosmic spirit in which the individual’s *ātmā*, or soul, should seek to blend. The nearest translation (quite inadequate) is “**God**.”

PARCHĪĀN SEVĀ DĀS. A collection of anecdotes by Seva Das **Udasi** concerning the 10 **Gurus**, with a heavy emphasis on **Guru Gobind Singh**. It is said to have been completed in 1708.

PARCHĪ BHĀĪ KANHAIYĀ. A narrative dealing with the life of **Bhai Ghanhaiya** written sometime between 1728 and 1740.

PARCHĪ BHĀĪ SEVĀ RĀM. The narrative of Bhai Seva Ram, who led the Sevapanthis, a group of **Sikhs** founded by **Bhai Ghanhaiya**. The author is Sahaj Ram, himself a Sevapanthi.

PARDĀH. The influence of **Muslim** social tradition has been powerful in the **Punjab**, and consequently many **Sikh women** (particularly in villages) used to veil themselves in the presence of strange men. Pardah (or purdah) is, however, forbidden for Sikh women. According to **Sikh Rahit Marayada**, they should not cover their faces with a veil, including when they are in a *saṅgat*. The custom of wearing pardah is fast waning in the Punjab.

PARIKĀRAMA. Used in the **Hindu** tradition for making a clockwise circuit of an idol. For the **Sikhs**, it designates the walkway around a pool surrounding a **gurdwara**. Pilgrims always approach **Harimandir Sahib** or any other gurdwara by walking clockwise around the parikarama.

PARIVĀR VICCHORĀ, GURDWARA. “Family Separation.” The very famous Sikh **gurdwara** near the Sirsa River where **Guru Gobind Singh** and his mother and two youngest sons were separated after the evacuation of **Anandpur**. Today it is a stop along the **Guru Gobind Singh Marg**.

PARKĀSH KARṆĀ. Installing the **Guru Granth Sahib** in a **gurdwara** early each morning. The sacred volume is carried respectfully on the head by a **Sikh** into the gurdwara from the resting place where it has been placed for the night. While all present sing hymns, the rumalas in which it was wrapped for the night are changed for fresh ones.

See also SUKHĀSĀN.

PARMANAND. Little is known of this poet except that he lived in Sholapur District in Maharashtra. There is one work by him in the **Adi Granth**.

See also LITERATURE.

PARTITION. When India gained independence from Great Britain in 1947, the country was divided into Bharat (India) and Pakistan. For the **Sikh** population in the Pakistan portion of the **Punjab**, it involved a tremendous upheaval. Virtually all the Sikhs from this area, together with a large majority of the **Hindus**, crossed to India, the Muslims from India moving in the opposite direction. The savage killings that took place on both sides of the border have

left memories that still live on in all three communities. The estimated number of Sikhs who were massacred is estimated as 200,000. The number of Hindus and Muslims slaughtered was likewise high.

See also MUSLIM RELATIONS; PUNJAB.

PARYĀI ĀDI SRĪ GURŪ GRANTH SĀHIB JĪ DE. Lexicon of the **Guru Granth Sahib** that was prepared in 1898 by Sant Sute Prakash.

PASHAURA SINGH, KANVAR (1821–1845). The son of **Maharaja Ranjit Singh**. He was killed on 11 September 1845.

PASHAURA SINGH (1949–). Scholar of the Sikh tradition whose early study on the history and compilations of the **Guru Granth Sahib** was the first to suggest the idea of working drafts of the **Sikh** scripture. In the mid to late 1990s, Pashaura Singh's findings, widely embraced by the academic community, caused some controversy within the Sikh **Panth** based on the misconception that the historical genesis of the scripture called into question the idea of its nature as *dhur kī bāṇī*.

PĀṬH. A reading of any portion of scripture.

See also AKHAṆḌ PĀṬH; SADHĀRAN PĀṬH; SAPTĀHAK PĀṬH.

PATI/PATTI. This term is usually translated as “honor” and is akin to the Punjabi idea of *izzat*, self respect, face, and honor. *Pati* is the word used most often by the **Sikh Gurus** to connote the idea of social standing.

PATIALA. The largest and the wealthiest of the princely states that were merged following **Partition** into the **Patiala** and Eastern Punjab States Union (PEPSU). The city was founded by Ala Singh of the **Phulkian misl** in the middle of the 18th century, and because it was on the left bank of the Satluj, it was protected from annexation by **Ranjit Singh**. Instead it cast its lot with the British and was permitted to remain a princely state until it became a part of PEPSU. The ruler of Patiala and the last in his dynasty, Yadvindar Singh, was appointed raj pramukh, or governor, of the new union. Patiala is one of the largest cities in the **Punjab**. Owing to the number of refugees from Pakistan who settled there after the Partition, it is the only city in the Punjab with a majority of **Sikhs**.

PATIALA AND EAST PUNJAB STATES UNION (PEPSU). PEPSU was formed following Partition between India and Pakistan in 1947. PEPSU comprised **Patiala**, **Nabha**, **Jind**, **Kapurthala**, **Faridkot**, **Nalagarh**, **Kalsia**, and **Malerkotla**. The state was centered on **Patiala** and had a **Sikh** majority.

The maharaja of Patiala was the raj pramukh (governor), and Gyan Singh Rarewala was the chief minister. In 1956 PEPSU was united with the Punjab, which at that time had a Hindu majority.

PATIT. A “fallen” **Sikh**; an apostate; an **Amrit-dhari** who knowingly commits one of the *kurahits*. The term is also loosely applied to **Kes-dharis** who trim or cut their hair.

PATĪKĀ. The patka is a recent addition to male **Sikh** dress that has acquired widespread popularity. It is a piece of cloth measuring approximately two feet by two feet that has four cloth ties of the same material, one at each corner. Boys wear them in place of the rumal while still too young for the **turban**. Athletes commonly wear them in sports where there is a risk of entangling the turban. The patka fits snugly over the head, covering almost all the hair. Neither **Amrit-dhari** males nor any females are permitted to wear the patka.

PATNA. The capital city of Bihar state. **Guru Gobind Singh** was born in Patna, which now has one of the five **takhats**.

PATRIARCHY. **Guru Nanak** gave **women** a share in the process of religious liberation, which places them on the same level as men. Women have the same privileges and the same duties as men. They too must meditate on the divine **Name** and can hope to attain the condition of **sahaj**, or perfect bliss. Human life depends on women, for without them, how can mankind continue? A stanza that well expresses this is *vār āsā* 19:2 (**Adi Granth**, p. 473). This belief is, however, set within the society in which Nanak lived. It is a patriarchal structure that allowed no share of ancestral property to women and assumed that when married they would move from their parents' home to that of their husband. This pattern has been maintained ever since and has involved the **Sikh** religion in a situation at once uneasy and hopeful. The situation is uneasy in that social practice seems clearly at variance with the **Guru's** teaching. It is hopeful in that Sikhs possess the appropriate doctrine to provide a way out of the difficulty as societies move toward greater equality between the sexes.

See also GENDER.

PATĪTĪ. “Wooden tablet.” The *paṭṭī* is a specific type of wooden tablet on which children learn their alphabet. In regard to the Sikhs, *paṭṭī* is the name of two hymns in the **Adi Granth**, one by **Guru Nanak** and the other by **Guru Amar Das**. Both are in *rāg āsā*.

PAURĪ. “Step.” A stanza from one of the **Adi Granth vārs** or other longer works.

PERU MALL (?–1526). According to tradition, Pheru Mall was the father of **Guru Angad**.

PERUMAN, DARSHAN SINGH. *See* DARSHAN SINGH PHERUMAN (1885–1969).

PHUL (1627–1689). The progenitor of the famous **Phulkian** dynasty.

PHULA SINGH (c. 1761–1823). His original name was Nihang Singh, changed to Phula Singh when he took **Khalsa** initiation. He was a **Jat**, son of an attendant at **Akal Takhat**, and upon joining the **Akalis** became their most famous leader. He first attracted attention by leading a group of Akalis in an unsuccessful raid on **Metcalf**’s escort in **Amritsar** and then by appearing before Maharaja **Ranjit Singh** with drawn sword, demanding vengeance on the strangers who had humiliated him. Ranjit Singh treated him tactfully, and thereafter **Phula Singh** entered his service, paying no heed to attempts to discipline him but fighting with conspicuous bravery in many battles. In 1823 he was killed in the Battle of Nushahira against the Afghans, and the strength of the Akalis then began to dwindle. In accordance with the rule of celibacy generally observed by the early Akalis (the later **Nihangs**), he was unmarried.

PHULKARĪ. Cloth embroidery, normally on a sheet or a shawl, which **Sikhs** retain for personal use or give as a desirable present.

PHULKIAN. Descendants of Baba **Phul**, a Sidhu **Jat** of the **Malwa** region. The princely houses of **Patiala**, **Nabha**, and **Jind** were all Phulkian in origin.

PHULKIAN MISL. A large **misl** founded by the descendants of Baba **Phul** with territories south of the Satluj River. During the Afghan invasions of **Ahmad Shah Abdali**, their chieftain, Ala Singh, frequently sided with the invader against the remainder of the **Khalsa**. Following his death, the misl was divided into three groups and became a confederacy. These were saved from **Ranjit Singh** by the advancing British who, placing **Malwa** under their protection at the beginning of the 19th century, permitted the **Phulkian** chieftains to retain their territories as princes. The principal one was **Patiala**.

PILGRIMAGE. **Guru Nanak** taught that external religious practices, including pilgrimage, were fruitless. The impulse to conduct pilgrimages was, however, too strong, and during the time of **Guru Amar Das** provision was evidently made for distinctively **Sikh** pilgrimages. A *bāoli* (sacred well) was dug in **Goindval**, and Sikhs were encouraged to visit both it and the **Guru**. Since then the number of sacred sites has greatly multiplied. They are always places associated with one of the Gurus, **Harimandir Sahib** in **Amritsar** being the leading one. Pilgrimages to visit a selection of these has long been a regular custom.

See also GURDWARA; TĪRATH.

PINGALVARA. An institution within the **Punjab**, centered at **Amritsar**, whose mission it is to care for the destitute and the disabled, among others. The moving force behind Pingalwara was and continues to be Bhagat **Puran Singh**.

PIPA. Traditionally a **Rajput** chieftain of Gagaraun, born in 1425. From being a follower of the goddess **Durga**, he is said to have changed to Ramanaṇḁ. There is one work by him in the **Adi Granth**.

PĪR. The head of a **Sufi** order; a renowned Sufi.

POLIER. A Swiss employee of the East India Company and the state of Oudh who was responsible for the first connected account of the **Sikhs** by a European. Entitled "The Siques," his essay was evidently written in 1780 and was read to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta in 1787.

POLITICAL PARTIES, PREPARTITION. **Sikh** political parties date from the **Chief Khalsa Divan (CKD)**, founded as a merger of the **Amritsar** and **Lahore Singh Sabhas** in 1902. By the end of World War I, ardent Sikhs, particularly those influenced by the **Tat Khalsa**, wanted more radical political expression. In 1919 the **Central Sikh League** was founded and stridently demanded that the **gurdwaras** be returned to the **Panth**. In 1920 two new organizations were begun under its auspices, the **Akali Dal**, to take over the **gurdwaras**, and the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee**, to administer them once they were in Sikh hands. Following the success of the **Gurdwara Reform Movement** in 1925, the Akali Dal continued as the principal political party of the **Panth**. On the right, the CKD formed the **Khalsa National Party** after 1935 and joined the **Unionist Party** (a multi-communal landlord party) to form the government of the **Punjab**. On the left were several small parties. Between them were many more Sikhs supporting either the Akali Dal (the majority) or the **Congress Party** (a minority). The

latter comprised those Sikhs who preferred Congress's all-India strategy rather than the explicitly Sikh policy of the Akali Dal. During this period the dominant figure in Akali affairs, and indeed in all Sikh politics, was Master **Tara Singh**, who retained his authority until **Partition** in 1947 and for almost two decades after it.

See also POLITICAL PARTIES, POSTPARTITION.

POLITICAL PARTIES, POSTPARTITION. **Tara Singh** and the **Akali Dal** survived the experience of **Partition** in 1947, casting in their lot with India. The **Punjab** that survived was, however, a Hindu-majority state, and the Akalis had no hope of ever ruling it. Attention was turned to securing **Punjabi Suba**, an appreciably smaller state with a majority of **Sikhs**. After vigorous campaigns based on who spoke Punjabi, this was eventually secured in 1966, though by that time Tara Singh had been eclipsed as leader by **Fateh Singh**. Although the Punjab now had a majority of Sikhs, the Akali Dal still found power elusive. It was able to form the government of the Punjab for brief periods, but each time its authority was undermined (usually by the **Congress**). In the 1980s, the situation in the Punjab deteriorated, with power increasingly passing from **Harchand Singh Longowal** to the militant **Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale**. In 1984 the central government ordered the army to attack Bhindranvale and his followers in the **Golden Temple** and its precincts, which they had occupied. Bhindranvale's death was followed by the avenging assassination of Indira Gandhi, the prime minister. The result of this period was disastrous for the Akali Dal. It split into several different groups, each claiming the name of the Akali Dal. The dominant group still continues to exist, however, and still claims a considerable measure of power.

See also POLITICS; POLITICAL PARTIES, PREPARTITION.

POLITICS. Much Sikh energy has been channeled into political activity during the 20th and 21st centuries. The results have scarcely been rewarding but leaders of the principal **Sikh** party, the **Akali Dal**, have always insisted that politics and faith are intimately bound together. Political activity is, they maintain, directly concerned with a Sikh's duty as a member of the **Khalsa**. **Tara Singh** was particularly identified with this view. The Sikh faith inescapably involves politics, he maintained, and all politics should be conducted with the interests of the Khalsa paramount. In spite of results, the **Akalis** have carried with them a very substantial portion of the **Panth**, particularly in their **morchas**. Their brand of politics still commands a wide following.

See also POLITICAL PARTIES, PREPARTITION; POLITICAL PARTIES, POSTPARTITION.

POPULATION. In 1985 Sikhs were estimated to total approximately 16 million worldwide. Of these, roughly 14 million lived in the **Punjab** and adjacent areas, one million lived elsewhere in India, and one million lived in other countries. Outside India the largest **Sikh** population was in the **United Kingdom**, where in 1987 they were estimated to total 269,600 out of a South Asian population of 1,271,000. According to the census of 2011 the Sikh population in the United Kingdom was approximately 423,000 (0.8 percent of the total population). **Canada** and the **United States** both had numbers that are extremely difficult to estimate, recent immigration having complicated the issue. Numbers are estimated at roughly 180,000–200,000 in each country, with Canada larger than the United States. Malaysia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Kenya all had more than 10,000 Sikhs. The same is the case for Sikhs in Europe, in which Sikh numbers hover around the low thousands, with the exception of Italy, which has approximately 70,000. From 1985 until 2013, the total Sikh population has considerably increased and is variously estimated as 18 to 23 million. Probably 20 million is a safe estimate. All of these totals (particularly the foreign ones) include the several varieties of Sikhs, not just **Kes-dhari Sikhs**, who are easily recognizable.

See also IDENTITY; MIGRATION.

POTHĪ. Volume; tome.

POTHĪ BĪBĪ RŪP KAUR. An early collection of **sakhis** that probably date from the mid-17th century.

See also GRANTH BHĀĪ PAINDĀ.

POTHOHAR. The area centered on **Rawalpindi**, lying between the Rivers Indus and Jhelum. The inhabitants or their successors are known as Pothoharis or (in the context of rivalry with **Jats** from farther down the **Punjab**) as **Bhapas**. Many leaders of the **Panth** came from this area or trace their ancestry from it. Most of the Pothoharis who are **Sikhs** are either **Khatris** or **Aroras**.

PRACHĀRAK. An itinerant preacher.

PRĀCHĪN PANTH PARKĀSH. “The ancient history of the Panth.” **Sikh** history, particularly the foundation of the **Khalsa**, as related by **Ratan Singh Bhangu**. In the current edition the word “Hindu” has frequently been changed to “Sikh” by the editor, **Vir Singh**. Known initially as *Gur-panth Prakāsh*, the title was changed by Vir Singh to *Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh* in order for it to not be confused with the *Panth Prakāsh* (1880) of Gian Singh.

Although Vir Singh claimed that Bhangu completed his work in 1841, recent scholarship has persuasively demonstrated that the text was finalized sometime before 1813.

It is worth further elaborating on the role of Vir Singh within this text. Bhangu's *Panth Prakāsh* became particularly popular because of the edition produced by Vir Singh in the early 1900s. Unlike the editing technique he used in Santokh Singh's *Sūraj Prakāsh*, in which Vir Singh included ample footnotes explicating certain obscure words and passages, Vir Singh actually deleted or reworded certain passages in Bhangu that did not meet with his specific understanding of the Sikh tradition. Indeed, in certain places Vir Singh deleted the word "Hindu" when he assumed the reference was clearly to a Sikh and replaced it with the word "Sikh" or "Singh."

PRAHILAD SINGH (PRAHILAD RAI). A brief **rahit-nama** in simple **Punjabi** verse said to have been composed at Nander shortly before **Guru Gobind Singh** died. This cannot have been the case. The **rahit-nama** was probably composed in the mid-18th century. It contains some very important lines concerning both the **Panth** and the **Granth** as **Guru**.

PRAJA MANDAL. The Tenants Association formed in the princely states of the **Punjab** in 1928, affiliated to the Indian National **Congress**. It comprised both **Sikh** and Hindu members.

See also SEVA SINGH THIKRIVALA (c. 1882–1935).

PRAKASH SINGH BADAL (1927–). Parkash Singh Badal has served for five terms to date as the chief minister of **Punjab**. The fifth term began in 2012 and will end in 2017. His political career has been a relatively long one as he had earlier held office between 1970 and 1971, 1977 and 1980, and 1997 and 2002. He is also the patron of Shiromani **Akali Dal** (SAD), of which he was president from 1995 to 2008. In 2008 he was replaced by his son **Sukhbir Singh Badal**. His intimate relationship with the SAD has assured him of strong influence in the dealings of the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee**.

PRAṆĀLĪ. "Manner/style/technique of interpretation." By the time of the early 20th century, there were a number of separate schools of scriptural interpretation within the **Sikh** tradition, although scholars are not all agreed upon which ones may be accorded separate status. Taran Singh's influential text *Gurbāṇī dīān Viākhīā Praṇālīān* (Schools of the Interpretation of the Guru's Utterances) recognize at least seven of these.

Among these are the Sahaj Pranali (Effortless Interpretation), in which scripture is used to interpret scripture; the Bhai Pranali, a mode that is associated with the most famous exegete of the Sikh tradition, **Bhai Gurdas**, especially as expounded through his famous *vārān*; the Paramarath Pranali, or the Sublime Interpretation, generally linked with the **Miharban janam-sakhi** in which a hymn from the scripture is followed with the phrase *tis kā paramārath*, “its sublime meaning is . . .”; the **Udasi** Pranali, which refracted the hymns of the Gurus through the lenses of Vedanta, best noted in the **Japji** commentary prepared by the 19th-century **Udasi** exegete, **Anandghan**; the **Nirmala** Pranali, which like that of the Udasis also cast the hymns of the Gurus in a Vedanta light, notwithstanding the fact that Nirmala interpreters like Santokh Singh rejected what was considered the particularly esoteric exegesis of the Udasis; the Giani Pranali, which takes its title from the famous **Mani Singh**, who learned Gurbani from **Guru Gobind Singh**, and of which the best example appears in Giani Badan Singh’s *Farīdkoṭ vālā Ṭīkā*; and finally the **Singh Sabha** Pranali, named after the 19th-century Singh Sabha movement, which relies on the careful analysis of semantic structure and the rational understanding of the words of scripture, best represented in Teja Singh’s four-volume *Śabadārath Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib jī* (1941), Sahib Singh’s 10-volume *Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib Darpaṇ* (1962–64), and Vir Singh’s incomplete seven-volume *Santhyā Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib* (1958).

PRĀṆ SAṄGALĪ. “The chain of the breath.” A lengthy apocryphal work attributed to **Nanak** that shows clear evidence of **Nath** influence. The **jan-am-sakhis** of the **Puratan** tradition claim that Nanak composed it while visiting Raja **Shiv-nabh**.

See also KACHCHĪ BĀṆĪ.

PRASĀD (PRASHĀD). Either “**grace**” or “**food**.” The two meanings are linked by the fact that *prasād* also means food offered to a god or the leavings of a person of great piety. The common **Adi Granth** formula *gur prasād* (or *sat-gur prasād*), “by the (True) **Guru**’s grace,” is a central doctrine of **Gurmat**.

See also KARĀH PRASĀD.

PRASĀDĪ HĀTHĪ. This is the name that Sikh tradition has given to an elephant that was given to **Guru Gobind Singh** as a gift. The elephant was trained to perform a number of tricks, one of which was to wave the *chaurī*, or whisk, over the **Guru**. Sikh tradition continues that it was in part Guru

Gobind Singh's refusal to lend or give the animal to Raja **Bhim Singh** of Bilaspur that caused the latter to attempt to take it by force, an act that ultimately failed.

PRASHĀN-UTTAR. "Question and Answer." A brief **rahit-nama** in simple **Punjabi** verse attributed to **Nand Lal**. It is, however, most unlikely that it can be traced to him. The date is uncertain, but is probably late 17th century. It must have been composed before the founding of the **Khalsa**, for no reference to the Khalsa is made in it.

See also SĀKHĪ RAHIT KĪ; TANAKHĀH-NĀMĀ.

PRATAP SINGH KAIRON (1901–1965). A **Jat**, he was educated at the University of Michigan and then joined the **Congress Party** in 1929. His politics, prior to independence in 1947, were mainly **Akali**, but in 1956 he became the Congress chief minister of the **Punjab**, remaining in the position until 1964, when he was forced to resign over corruption charges. As chief minister he was very effective, successfully opposing **Punjabi Suba** as long as he was in the position. In 1965 he was assassinated.

PREM ABODH. "Love Indiscriminate." A text produced in the court of **Guru Gobind Singh**, but wrongly attributed to his pen, that recounts the lives of 16 major **bhagats**. Some scholars attribute the work to Hari Das, one of the poets in the Tenth Guru's **darbar**.

See also LITERATURE.

PREM SUMĀRAG. "The Way of True Love." A lengthy prose **rahit-nama** the date of which is still an issue of dispute among scholars, although the claim that it represents an early 18th-century description of the way of life observed by a **Sanatan Sikh**, with rituals that differ considerably from the **Khalsa** style, is a strong one. The author is unknown. It is also referred to as the *Param Sumārag*.

See also LITERATURE.

PRIEST. The terms "priest" and "high priest" have been introduced into popular usage by the news media, seeking translations for **granthis** and **jathedars** of the Sikh **takhats**. This usage is wholly mistaken. Sikhism is a lay religion and has no place for a priesthood.

PRĪKHĪĀ PRAKARAṆ. "Subjecting Segments [of Sikh Texts] to Analysis." A tract written by Pandit Tara Singh Narotam subjecting Sikh texts to textual analysis in order to demonstrate their authenticity or authorship.

PRINSEP, HENRY R. British observer who published *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab* in 1834. It contains a valuable section by Captain W. Murray entitled “On the Manners, Rules and Customs of the **Sikhs**.”

PRITHI CHAND (1558–1618). The older brother of **Arjan** and unsuccessful contender for the title of **Guru**.

See also MĪNĀ; SULHI KHAN.

PRIYATAM DAS, BABA (c. 1722–1831). The **Udasi** sadhu who founded the Nirban **Akhara** (later known as the Sangawala Akhara) at **Amritsar**. During an extended tour of southern India, Priyatam Das came into contact with the uncle of **Chandu Lal**, Nanak Ram, whose gift of 700,000 rupees allowed the Baba ji to establish the central Udasi seat of Panchati Barra Akhara. In 1753, Baba Priyatam Das spearheaded a project to ensure that water would be constantly supplied to the sarovar attached to **Harimandir Sahib**.

PUJĀRĪ. The person who was responsible for ritual in major **Sikh** shrines. The term is not currently in common use.

PUNJAB. Punjab means “five waters,” from the five rivers that flow through it, together with the Indus in the west in which they all merge. The five rivers are (from the Indus eastward) the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas, and the Satluj. These rivers have conferred on the Punjab extensive areas of highly productive soils, with irrigation in recent times adding much more. Modern Punjab comprises adjacent portions of India and Pakistan, divided by **Partition** in 1947. The Indian portion was more narrowly defined by the creation of **Punjabi Suba** in 1966. Undivided Punjab was the homeland of the **Sikhs**, and before 1947 the vast majority lived within its borders, ranging from comparative scarcity in the northwest to relative density in the areas of **Manjha**, **Doaba**, and **Malwa**. **Nanak** was born in the Punjab, and there the **Gurus** carried out the greater part of their labors. According to the 1921 census, only 11 percent of undivided Punjab was Sikh. Because they had ruled the Punjab prior to annexation by the British, they occupied a disproportionate share of the land, and of the so-called leading families approximately half were Sikh. Even so, the Government of India Act of 1919 granted the Sikhs only 19 percent of the seats in the new constitution, and in 1947 **Partition** proceeded without serious consideration of their interests. Forced to choose, they opted for India, thereby swinging more of central Punjab to India than would otherwise have been the case.

At Partition in 1947, virtually every Sikh in Pakistan, together with the vast majority of Hindus, crossed to India. Muslims moved the other way. At this stage the Punjab was still distinct from the former princely states that formed the Sikh-dominated **Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU)**. When the two were brought together in 1956, Hindus were 62 percent of the united state. This was held to justify Hindi as the state language rather than **Punjabi**. The Sikhs vigorously maintained that a large portion of the state spoke Punjabi, and as a result of the Punjabi Suba agitation, they eventually succeeded in 1966 in having the boundaries of the Punjab more narrowly drawn. This excluded those areas where the majority had declared Hindi to be their mother tongue instead of Punjabi. This at last gave the Sikhs a Punjab with 56 percent of the people Sikhs, though as it turned out it did not give them invariable control of the parliamentary process.

See also POPULATION; REGIONAL FORMULA.

PUNJABI SUBA. “Punjabi State.” The **Punjabi**-language state. **Sikhs**, led by the **Akali Dal**, agitated for it from **Partition** in 1947. Following vigorous Sikh participation in the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war, the government of India granted a separate Punjabi-speaking state in 1966 by separating Haryana and Himachal Pradesh from the existing Punjab.

See also REGIONAL FORMULA; TARA SINGH (1885–1967).

PUNJABI UNIVERSITY. Founded in 1962, Punjabi University in **Patiala** served as chief minister **Pratap Singh Kairon**’s attempt to answer the **Punjabi Suba** campaign by founding an institution for the encouragement of **Punjabi** language and literature.

See also GURU NANAK DEV UNIVERSITY.

PUNN. “Merit.” In the **Sikh** tradition, one acquires merit through the awareness of the divine facilitated by *nām simran*.

PŪRAN-MĀSHĪ. The day of the full moon; the end of a lunar month. An important festival for the **Panth**.

See also AMĀVAS; PANCHAMĪ; SANGRAND.

PURAN SINGH (1881–1931). Trained in glass technology and pharmaceutical chemistry at Tokyo University, Puran Singh worked as an industrial chemist when he returned to India. His chief distinction, however, was as a poet both in **Punjabi** and English. Influenced by Walt Whitman, he produced blank verse that stressed the universal appeal of the **Sikh Gurus**.

See also LITERATURE.

PURAN SINGH, BHAGAT (1904–1992). Puran Singh was born to Hindu parents in Rajewal near present-day Ludhiana. He became a **Sikh** while still a child and early on chose to embody the Sikh virtue of *sevā*, or selfless service to all. Although he was a prolific author whose works spanned a number of disciplines—dealing with the environment, ecology, and Sikhism in particular—Puran Singh, or Bhagat Puran Singh, as he came to be later called, is best known as the founder of **Pingalvara**, a home for the homeless, destitute, and physically and mentally challenged that was erected in **Amritsar** and continues to serve the people of the **Punjab**.

PURATAN JANAM-SAKHI TRADITION. The Puratan tradition forms a small group of immensely influential **janam-sakhis**. Scholarly **Sikhs** during the late 19th century were uneasy that the **Bala tradition**, with its strong emphasis on the miraculous and the bizarre, provided the material for the life of **Nanak**. In 1872 Ernest **Trumpp** discovered a different janam-sakhi in London and declared it to be probably the origin of all janam-sakhis. When it was examined in the **Punjab**, scholarly Sikhs agreed, and the manuscript was termed the *Purātan*, or “ancient,” janam-sakhi. This has since been shown to be in error, for although the manuscript is certainly old, the janam-sakhi that it records is well structured. The anecdotes that relate the travels of Nanak are organized into four major missionary journeys in four directions (plus one minor one), a feature of a comparatively late janam-sakhi. The two main manuscripts of the tradition are the Colebrooke (the London one) and the Hafizabad (now destroyed). Biographies of Nanak written during the 20th century are normally based on the *Purātan* tradition. The tradition is, however, no more reliable than other traditions.

PURITY/POLLUTION. In a sense, **Sikhs** are little bothered by concepts of purity or pollution. They do, however, generally observe the rules of **caste** marriage, and strict members of the **Khalsa** will not eat with non-members. The attitude toward **Dalits** is distinctly ambivalent. Whereas they recognize that the **Gurus** spoke against discrimination, they nevertheless maintain a clear awareness of who is an Outcaste. They also commonly absorb other less weighty customs from their Indian background, such as distinguishing their use of the right (pure) and left (polluted) hand or always circling a sacred object clockwise, or contact between the **Guru Granth Sahib** and menstruating women.

Q

QAUM. “A people who stand together.” [The **Sikh**] community.

QĀZĪ (QĀDĪ). A Muslim judge; administrator of Islamic law. Qazis are cast as unsympathetic interlocutors of **Nanak** in the **janam-sakhis**.

QUDRATI. Arabic for “divine power.” Term used in the *bāṇī* of the **Gurus** to designate, among other things, nature.

QUOIT. Steel quoits are a conspicuous part of a **Nihang**’s uniform, worn in the turban. Greater standing as a Nihang means that the quoit is worn higher in the turban. The quoit also appears in the modern *khaṇḍā* device.

R

RABĀB. A musical instrument like a rebeck.

RADHASOAMI. A **Sant** movement that traces its origins to a parent movement founded in Agra by Swami Shiv Dayal in 1861. The Agra movement later divided, and a branch was established beside the Beas River in **Amritsar** District by Jaimal Singh, a **Jat Sikh**. This came to be called the Beas Radhasoami Satsang, as distinct from the parent group that continued in Agra. In 1903 he was succeeded by Sawan Singh, the “Great Master,” another Jat Sikh. A line of Masters was thus established, teaching the threefold message of *simaran* (repetition of the Lord’s many **Names** until attention is focused on the Third Eye that lies within), *dhyān* (contemplation of the immortal form of the Master), and *bhajan* (hearing the celestial music within us). The movement is led by Sikh Masters, and many Sikhs have been attracted to it. To orthodox Sikhs, however, it is unacceptable. This is partly because of the differences between Sikh doctrine and the teachings of the **Satsang** and partly because the Satsang consists predominantly of Hindus.

RĀG (RĀGĀ). A series of five or more notes on which a melody is based; melody. Different *rāgs* are held to be appropriate for various times of the day. The works in the **Adi Granth** and other collections of hymns are divided according to their *rāgs*, of which 31 are represented.

See also MUSIC.

RĀGĪ. A professional singer of *kīrtan*. Normally employed by a **gurdwara**, ragis are also available for singing *kīrtan* at private functions.

See also MUSIC.

RĀG-MĀLĀ. The list of *rāgs* at the very end of the **Adi Granth** (pp. 1429–30). Because of its apparent mistakes, Rag-mala is regarded with doubt, and its status as a part of the **Adi Granth** is undecided. **Santokh Singh, Gian Singh, Kahn Singh Nabha, Teja Singh Bhasaur, and Rand-**

hir Singh were among those who doubted or wholly rejected it. According to **Sikh Rahit Marayada**, the question is left open, though Rag-mala is not normally recited in *akhaṇḍ pāṭhs* at **Harimandir Sahib**.

RAHARĀS. *See* SODAR RAHARĀS.

RAHAU. The refrain of a *shabad*.

RAHIT. The code of belief and discipline that all **Amrit-dhari Sikhs** vow to observe at initiation into the **Khalsa**. Recorded versions are known as **rahit-namas**. According to tradition, the **Rahit** was promulgated by **Guru Gobind Singh** when he instituted the Khalsa in 1699. If so, this must have been a Rahit different from the modern version. During the 18th century, the Rahit continued to change, principally in accordance with the predominantly **Jat** constituency of the **Panth** and its conflict with **Muslim** enemies. It continued to alter at a slower rate during the 19th century and toward the end of the century was taken up by the reforming **Singh Sabha**. After a lengthy debate, a modern version of the Rahit was finally published in 1950. The Rahit is binding only on Amrit-dhari Sikhs, not on **Sahaj-dharis**. Strictly speaking, it does not apply to **Kes-dharis** who are not Amrit-dharis, though they are strongly encouraged to observe it as far as possible. *Rahit* is a very important term and deserves to be a part of regular English usage.

See also SIKH RAHIT MARAYĀDĀ.

RAHIT BIBEK. The **rahit-nama** observed by the **Akhand Kirtani Jatha**. It deletes **kes** from the **Five Ks**, instead substituting *keskī*, which it requires women as well as men to wear. Also, it commands complete vegetarianism and insists on the use of *sarab loh* (all iron) whenever possible. Members of the **Jatha** reject the manual **Sikh Rahit Marayada** as mistaken in these important respects.

RAHITIĀ. A **Sikh** from the **Chamar** (leather-working) caste; an Outcaste Sikh.

See also CASTE; DALIT; RAMDASIA.

RAHIT-NĀMĀ. A manual that records any version of the **Rahit** of the **Khalsa**. The original rahit is attributed to **Guru Gobind Singh**, and the early rahit-namas all purport to reproduce his actual words. Although there is considerable uncertainty concerning sequence and dates, it seems certain that the oldest extant rahit-nama emerged at the end of the second decade of the 18th century. This was a poetic collection of a limited number of injunctions mistakenly termed the *Tanakhāh-nāmā* and attributed to **Nand Lal**. This

was followed by other 18th-century rahit-namas attributed to Prahilad Rai (or **Prahilad Singh**), **Chaupa Singh**, **Desa Singh**, **Daya Singh**, and the unidentified *Prem Sumārag*. Another was also attributed to Nand Lal. This was the *Sākhī Rahit kī*. The *Prashān-uttar*, also attributed to Nand Lal, is not really a rahit-nama and was probably composed before the foundation of the Khal-sa.

Subsequently, there appeared two other rahit-namas in prose embedded in the *Sau Sākhīs*. These attributions have been attached to them spuriously. They were, however, accepted by **Singh Sabha** scholars, and from these sources they attempted to distill the original Rahit. In 1915 they published their reformist views as an entirely new rahit-nama. This manual, the *Guramat Prakāsh Bhāg Sanskāra*, failed to win acceptance. Not until **Sikh Rahit Marayada** was issued in 1950 did an authoritative and accepted rahit-nama appear.

Recent research on 18th-century rahit-namas has demonstrated that many of the injunctions within these texts helped check the activities of certain powerful 18th-century Sikh **sardars**. As well, the constant reference to unity, and the lack thereof, suggests an environment that differs from the idyllic one that is discovered within much of the **gur-bilas** material.

RAI BHOI DI TALVANDI. *See* NANKANA SAHIB.

RAI BULAR. The village landlord of **Talvandi Rai Bhoi** when **Nanak** was young. Traditionally, he is regarded as warm admirer of the youthful **Nanak**.

RAIDAS. *See* RAVIDAS (c. 1500).

RAJA RAM (?–1644). A **Rajput Sikh** who was so attached to **Guru Har-gobind** that he literally followed him into the next world, choosing to immolate himself on the Guru's pyre rather than continue living without the Sixth Guru. The incident is noted in the relatively reliable *Dabistān-i Mazāhib*.

RAJIV RATNA GANDHI (1944–1991). The sixth prime minister of India. Rajiv Gandhi's prime ministership saw one of the most dramatic periods in the modern history of the **Sikh** people and the **Punjab**. The unrest within the state, which had its beginnings with the Baisakhi 1978 disturbances between Sikhs of the **Akhand Kirtani Jatha** and those of the **Sant Nirankaris**, was dramatically heightened after **Operation Blue Star** in 1984 and the assassination of **Indira Gandhi** on the following 31 October. Succeeding to his mother's position, Rajiv Gandhi allowed his mother's 1983 declaration of President's Rule within the state to continue. Afterward, he drafted an accord with **Harchand Singh Longowal** that attempted to put an end to the terrible

strife haunting the state. The assassination of Longowal, however, ensured that the accord was never implemented. Perhaps Rajiv Gandhi's most controversial statement regarding the Punjab came 19 days after the assassination of his mother, when in reference to the horrific anti-Sikh violence that engulfed New **Delhi** in November following his mother's killing, he is claimed to have said that "when a mighty tree falls, it is only natural that the earth around it does shake a little." Although this was somewhat callous, it is unlikely that Gandhi implied that police throughout India thus had an excuse to allow Sikhs to be killed as only six days after Indira Gandhi's murder he had met with a Sikh delegation and affirmed his belief that Sikhs had indeed fought gloriously in the past for India and were thus considered full-fledged citizens of the country.

RĀJ KAREGĀ KHĀLSĀ. At the conclusion of **Ardas** the following couplet is recited: "The **Khalsa** shall rule (*rāj karegā khālsā*), no enemy shall remain. All who endure suffering and privation shall be brought to the safety of the **Guru's** protection." This is a quotation from the *Tanakhāh-nāmā* attributed to **Nand Lal**. It reflects the increasing self-confidence of the **Khalsa** in its contest for power in the **Punjab**.

RAJ KAUR. Mother of **Maharaja Ranjit Singh**.

RAJPUT. A large caste related to the **Jats**. They are particularly numerous in Rajasthan and also important in the **Punjab**. Their origins are disputed, some tracing them back to the Rajaputra of Vedic times and others linking them much more closely with the Jats as a late entry into Indian society. Several **castes** trace their origins to the Rajputs, connections that are based entirely on tradition. *See also* LUBANA; MAHTON.

RAKAB-GANJ GURDWARA. The **gurdwara** in New **Delhi** marking the place where the headless body of **Guru Tegh Bahadur** was secretly cremated by **Lakkhi Shah** who, with his son, managed to carry it away by night from the place of execution in Delhi to his house in the village of Raisina on the outskirts of Delhi. To avoid suspicion, Lakkhi Shah's whole house, with the body inside, was burned. A **gurdwara** was built on the spot in 1790 by Baghel Singh, one of the raiding chieftains who had briefly taken Delhi. In 1913, during the construction of New Delhi, the outer wall of the **gurdwara** was demolished by the British government in order to provide a straight road to the viceregal lodge. This raised widespread protest. The issue was shelved during the war but broke out again after the war ended, and it was one of the reasons for the founding of the **Central Sikh League** in 1919. A band of prospective martyrs led by **Sardul Singh Caveeshar** marched on Delhi to

reconstruct the wall. By the time they arrived, the government, realizing it had stirred something up, had rebuilt the wall and handed the gurdwara over to the **Khalsa** Divan of Delhi.

See also JAITA (trad. 1657–1704).

RĀKHĪ. One-fifth of the harvest; it is taken by **misls** in return for protection of villages (including from government officials).

RAKKHRĪ (RAKSHĀ BANDHAN). A festival celebrated by **Hindus** and **Sikhs** held on the full moon day of the month of Saun (August), on which a girl ties a ribbon on her brother's wrist, and he promises to defend her honor throughout his life.

RĀM. One of the most common names for **God** in the **Adi Granth**, as in Hindu usage also.

See also AKĀL PURAKH; HARI; VĀHIGURŪ.

RAMANAND (c. 1400?). A religious figure particularly associated with Vaishnava **bhakti** in north India. The tradition that he was **Kabir's Guru** is a controversial one. One work in the **Adi Granth** is attributed to him.

RAMDASIA. A **Sikh** of the **Chamar** (leather-working) caste; an Outcaste Sikh.

See also CASTE; DALIT; RAHITIĀ; RAVIDASI.

RAM DAS, GURU (1534–1581). Fourth Guru. Born in **Lahore**, a member of the **Sodhi** subcaste of **Khatris**. Known as Jetha until he became a **Sikh**, he was married in 1554 to **Bhani**, the daughter of **Guru Amar Das**. Before Amar Das died in 1574, at the age of 95, his choice as successor and Fourth **Guru** fell on **Ram Das**. Sources for the life of Guru Ram Das are sparse (as they are for all Gurus from the second to the eighth), and although it is clear that he should undoubtedly be associated with the founding of **Amritsar**, it is not certain whether he did so on his own initiative or in response to instructions from Guru Amar Das. Amritsar was nevertheless established by Ram Das and known first as Chak Guru, then as Ramdaspur. The first act of the Guru was to excavate the pool that ultimately gave the site its name of Amritsar (pool of nectar).

Guru Ram Das is credited with establishing the **masands**, representatives who acted for the Guru in his absence. Composing hymns was a particular skill of his, and many of his works have been recorded in the **Adi Granth**. In the early **Panth** the singing of hymns in praise of the divine **Name** was the dominant activity, an emphasis that continues to the present day. Guru Ram

Das is very important as a contributor to this tradition. He chose his youngest son, **Arjan**, to succeed him as the Fifth Guru, passing over his two older sons **Prithi Chand** and Mahadev. All the Sikh Gurus were thereafter his direct male descendants.

RAMGARHIA. A Sikh artisan caste comprising predominantly **Tarkhans** (carpenters) together with small numbers of Sikh masons, **barbers**, and blacksmiths. Sikh Tarkhans, seeking to elevate their position in the caste hierarchy, abandoned the Tarkhan identity, choosing instead the name “Ramgarhia” from **Jassa Singh Ramgarhia**, who was also a Tarkhan. Their success has, however, been markedly less than that of the **Ahluvalias**, who also adopted the name of a famous **misdar** as part of a campaign to elevate their caste. Ramgarhias were extensively employed by the British on building the railways of East Africa, and from there many have migrated to Britain and North America.

See also MIGRATION.

RAMGARHIA MISL. A **misl** led by **Jassa Singh Thoka** (a **Tarkhan** by caste) who, taking his name from the fort known as Ramgarh outside **Amritsar**, became **Jassa Singh Ramgarhia**. His territory spread eastward from Batala across the Beas River. Jassa Singh frequently adopted positions that conflicted with other chieftains, including occasional support for the Afghan invader **Ahmad Shah Abdali**. The **misl** came to an effective end when it joined the alliance that **Ranjit Singh** overcame at Bhasin in 1799.

RAMKALĪ KĪ VĀR. This *vār* is also known as the Coronation Ode, or the *Tikke dī vār*, and is the composition of **Satta and Balwand**. It may be that here one discovers the first appearance of the famous metaphor of the 10 torches representing the transmission of the singular *joti* of the **Sikh Gurus**.

RAM RAI (1646–1687). The elder son of **Guru Har Rai**. Because Har Rai had supported **Dara Shikoh** in the **Mughal** war of succession, the successful contender **Aurangzeb** required him to send Ram Rai to the court in **Delhi** as a hostage. The intention was to educate the hostage in Mughal ways, converting him into a supporter of the throne. In this regard Aurangzeb was evidently successful. **Sikh** tradition explains it by describing a particular incident. It records that Ram Rai successfully ingratiated himself by his answer to what Aurangzeb held to be a demeaning reference in the **Adi Granth**. How did he explain the claim that earthenware pots were made from *mittī musalamān kī* (“the dust which is formed by **Muslim** [bodies]”)?

Ram Rai replied that the words were miscopied, the original text reading *miṭṭī beīmān kī* (“the dust which is formed by [the bodies] of faithless people”).

On hearing this, Guru Har Rai declared that Ram Rai, having presumed to amend the words of **Guru Nanak**, should never again appear before him. Ram Rai’s younger brother **Har Krishan** should instead succeed Har Rai as Guru. The tradition can be presumed to be accurate, at least to the extent that it describes relations between Aurangzeb and Ram Rai. Aurangzeb granted revenue-free land in the Dun Valley to Ram Rai, the town there subsequently known as Dehra Dun because Ram Rai set up a *dehrā* (shrine) on his estate. Ram Rai proved to be a rival to the orthodox line for the allegiance of the **Sikhs**. For this reason, his followers, known as **Ram Raiyas**, were included in the **Panj Mel**.

RAM RAI, BHAI. A prominent **Sikh** of the time of **Guru Tegh Bahadur** who is mentioned in the Ninth Guru’s *hukam-nāmās* to the **Patna saṅgat**.

RAM RAIYA. A member of the schismatic group led by Ram Rai. The group is usually included as one of the **Panj Mel**.

RĀM RAUṆĪ. A prominent fort built in 1748 in the Ramsar area of **Amritsar**. After 1753 **Jassa Singh Ramgarhia** renamed the newly rebuilt fort Ramgarh. It was from this fort that the **Ramgarhias** took their name.

RAM SINGH (1816–1885). The second and most influential **Guru** of the **Kuka**, or **Namdhari** sect, believed by members of the sect to be the reincarnation of **Guru Gobind Singh**. Ram Singh was a **Tarkhan**, or a **Ramgarhia**, and under him the **Namdharis** became a predominantly rural sect largely comprising Ramgarhias and poorer **Jats**. In 1871 and 1872 there were disturbances involving the Namdharis that the British rulers treated as a prelude to revolution. Because no court would have convicted Ram Singh, he was deported without trial to Rangoon. He died there in 1885.

RAM SINGH, RAJA. The son of the **Rajput** ruler Jai Singh of Amber. Because of a sustained connection between the Amber rajas and the Sikh Gurus, **Guru Har Krishan** stayed with Ram Singh when he came to **Delhi** in regard to the summons issued by the emperor **Aurangzeb**. It was here that the Eighth Guru became ill and unfortunately died in March 1664. Ram Singh also played a role in ensuring the release of Guru Har Krishan’s successor, **Guru Tegh Bahadur**, when the latter was first arrested in 1665.

RĀṆĀ SURAT SINGH. Bhai Vir Singh's famous poem which presented to the **Sikh** public the first-ever attempt to write a Punjabi poem in blank verse. The work followed themes similar to those discovered in Vir Singh's other famous works, themes underscoring the significance of the **Singh Sabha/Tat Khalsa** interpretation of **Sikhism**. A reading of the work suggests that it is the allegory of the lover (humanity) attempting to seek out and ultimately merge with the beloved (the divine).

See also LITERATURE.

RANDHIR SINGH (1878–1961). A Grewal **Jat** from Narangwal near Ludhiana who spent lengthy periods in British jails, where he created considerable problems by his rigorous interpretation of the **Khalsa** faith. In particular, he insisted on **sarab loh** (all iron) and refused to eat anything that had not been cooked in an iron vessel. For a lengthy period he was associated with **Teja Singh of Bhasaur** and the **Panch Khalsa Divan** but parted company when Teja Singh was banished from the **Panth**. His followers were known as the Bhai Randhir Singh da **Jatha**, now commonly termed the **Akhand Kirtani Jatha**.

RANGHRETA. A section of the **Mazhabi Sikh** Outcastes who claim an elevated status on the grounds that **Jaita**, one of their number, carried the severed head of **Guru Tegh Bahadur** to his son **Gobind Singh**, from **Delhi** to **Anandpur**.

RANJĪT NAGĀRĀ. The famous kettle drum that **Guru Gobind Singh** installed at Anandpur in 1684.

RANJIT SINGH (1780–1839). Sikhs remember Maharaja Ranjit Singh with respect and affection as their greatest ruler. Ranjit Singh was a Sansi, and this identity has led some to claim that his **caste** affiliation was with the low-caste Sansi tribe of the same name. A much more likely theory is that he belonged to the **Jat got** that used the same name. The **Sandhanvalias** belonged to the same got. Ranjit Singh was the son of **Mahan Singh**, leader of the **Shukerchakia misl**, and succeeded his father at a time when the **misl**s were still confronted by Afghan invasions. In 1792 he succeeded his father, when control of the **Punjab** was moving strongly in favor of the **misl**s. By means of marriages, alliances, and open wars, Ranjit Singh was able to reduce all the other **misl**s west of the Satluj River and to emerge in 1801 as maharaja of most of the Punjab. Those east of the Satluj were protected by the advancing British.

During the next two decades, he enlarged his territories, capturing **Multan**, Peshawar, and Kashmir. He took a particular interest in his army, bringing in several Europeans to train it in the Western style. He was much less able in economics, however, and the finances of the kingdom were never put on a sound footing. Ranjit Singh was small, scarred by smallpox, and illiterate. In spite of the latter feature, he was able to choose competent servants, favoring the **Sikhs** but nevertheless balancing the three communities that dominated the Punjab. When he died, the kingdom rapidly descended into murderous strife, and after two wars fought with the British, the Punjab was annexed to British India in 1849.

See also ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB; DALIP SINGH (1837–1893); JINDAN or MAHARANI JIND KAUR (1817–1863); KAHNAIYA MISL; KHARAK SINGH, MAHARAJA (1803–1840); SADA KAUR (1762–1832); SHER SINGH, MAHARAJA (1807–1843).

RATAN SINGH BHANGU (?–1846). Mahtab Singh, one of the assassins of **Massa Ranghar**, had a grandson who was called on to relate the history of the **Sikhs**. This was Ratan Singh Bhangu. In 1809 Bhangu was invited to tell the story of the Sikhs to the Englishman Captain Murray in Ludhiana; some time before 1813 he issued his account in **Braj/Punjabi** under the title of *Panth Parkāsh* (subsequently known as *Prāchīn Panth Parkāsh* to distinguish it from the later work of the same name by **Gian Singh**). Although he retained the same emphasis of earlier writers on destiny and struggle, the focus is strongly on the creation of the **Khalsa**. The Khalsa was created to rule; all who acknowledge its discipline must be prepared to assert that right. He gives the date of the founding of the Khalsa as 1695. Although the famous early 20th-century Vir Singh edition of the work gives its date of completion as 1841, recent scholarship has persuasively argued that the text was finished sometime very soon before or after 1813.

RAVIDAS (c. 1500). An Outcaste (**Chamar**) **bhagat** of Banaras, also known as Raidas. There are 40 of his works in the **Adi Granth**. The inclusion of the works of a Chamar in the Adi Granth shows that no importance was attached to **caste** by the **Gurus**.

RAVIDASI. Concerning **Ravidas**. A Ravidasi **gurdwara** is one attended by **Dalits**, normally **Ramdasi**s. There are a substantial number of Ravidasi in the **United Kingdom**.

RAWALPINDI. The main city of the **Pothohar** region.

See also BHĀPĀ.

REGIONAL FORMULA. When India became independent in 1947, a decision was taken to divide the country into states, in each of which one dominant language was spoken. In the case of the **Punjab**, however, Punjabi was not accepted as the one dominant language because a majority of the old eastern Punjab were Hindus who were persuaded to declare their language as Hindi, regardless of what they actually spoke. The **Sikhs** agitated against the decision, and in response the central government set up a scheme called the regional formula. The Punjab was divided into two areas, one of which had returned Punjabi in the census and the other, Hindi. Each area had its own legislators and they decided all matters separately except those of law, order, finance, and taxation. This complicated system failed to work satisfactorily and Sikhs under Master **Tara Singh** began a **Punjabi Suba** agitation. After four years of turmoil, a full-fledged Punjabi-speaking state was finally formed in 1966, and the Hindi-speaking areas detached to form the separate states of Haryana and Himachal Pradesh.

See also POLITICAL PARTIES, POSTPARTITION.

RIKAB-GANJ GURDWARA. *See* RAKAB-GANJ GURDWARA.

rites of passage. Prior to the **Singh Sabha** movement in the late 19th century, the **Panth** had observed **rituals** similar to, or identical with, those of the **Hindus**. The rise of the **Tat Khalsa**, however, produced a determination to observe only **Sikh** rituals, and for several decades a struggle between Tat Khalsa and **Sanatan Sikhs** took place within the Panth. The most significant victory of the Tat Khalsa was the passing of the **Anand Marriage Act** in 1909, one that set out a Sikh form of marriage. The victory was eventually total. Other rites of passage that date from this period are ceremonies for **birth**, **naming**, **initiation**, and **death**. Hindu ceremonies such as the *shrādh* (for deceased forbears) are forbidden, although they had previously been practiced by Sikhs.

RITUALS. **Nanak** taught that rituals were mere external practices and as such were useless. **Sikhs**, however, observe a limited number of rituals. The principal ones are *amrit sanskār*, **Anand marriage**, and the **funeral** service.

See also RITES OF PASSAGE.

RUCHI RAM SAHNI. A prominent **Sahaj-dhari Sikh** and member of the Brahma Samaj in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Ruchi Ram Sahni was an eyewitness to many of the atrocities inflicted upon the Sikhs during the **Gurdwara Reform Movement**.

RUMĀL. “Handkerchief.” A small piece of cloth covering the topknot, which was commonly worn without a **turban** by sportsmen and by boys too young for a turban. During the 1980s and 1990s, it was increasingly supplanted by the **patka**.

RUMĀLĀ. A square shawl or a cloth (normally ornate) in which the **Guru Granth Sahib** is wrapped when not being read; a portion of the “robes” of the Guru Granth Sahib. Each set of robes contains three items, of which the rumala is the centerpiece. Two side pieces (*pālakān*) complete the set. Rumalas are usually gifted to **gurdwaras**.

RUP CHAND/BHAI RUPA (1614–1709). Initially a devotee of Sakhi Sarwar, Rup Chand became a **Sikh** on a visit to **Guru Hargobind**, when the former was accompanied by his wife. Tradition claims that Guru Hargobind was pleased at Rup Chand’s service and encouraged him and his father to lay the foundation of their own village, which was ultimately named Bhai Rupa itself. Today, Bhai Rupa’s descendants possess a number of items associated with the Sikh Gurus, including **hukam-namas**.

RUTĪ. “Seasons.” **Guru Arjan**’s composition in *Rāmkalī rāg* (**Adi Granth**, pp. 927–929) that underscored the urgent need of all human beings to commune with the divine.

See also MUSIC.

S

SACH. *See* SAT (ALSO SATI, SATYA, SACH, SACHA).

SACHĀ PĀTISHĀH. “True King.” A form of address used for **God** by **Nanak**. Later **Gurus** came to be addressed by their **Sikhs** in the same way, as they were seen as the representatives of God.

SACHCHĀ SAUDĀ. “The True Bargain.” This is perhaps the most famous *sakhi* of the entire **janam-sakhi** corpus. According to tradition, when **Guru Nanak** was a young boy his father, Baba **Kalu**, gave his son a number of rupees in order to get the young Nanak accustomed to buying and selling commodities for profit. On the way to the market the young Guru met with some ascetics and began a discussion with them. When he discovered that they had not eaten for a number of days, he spent all of the money his father had given him to feed these hungry ascetics. Returning home, he made his father privy to his dealings, at which Baba Kalu rebuked Nanak. In reply Nanak claimed that this was by far the best bargain he could have ever procured. The **gurdwara** that is said to commemorate this event is today in Pakistan.

SACCHE SĀHIB KĪ FATEH. “Victory to the True Lord.” For some scholars of the Sikh tradition this is the expression that was used by **Banda** as he commenced his preaching. It seems likely that the True Lord, or *sacche sāhib*, to whom Banda may be referring is **Guru Gobind Singh**.

SACH KHAND. The condition of ineffable **sahaj** attained at the climax of *nām simaran*. This is the meaning of *sach khand* as used by **Nanak** in **Japji**. For many **Sikhs**, however, *sach khand* is conceived of as a “heavenly abode,” a place to which one’s spirit goes at physical death, rather than a mystical condition transcending death.

See also PAÑJ KHAND.

SACH KHAND GURDWARA. *See* HAZUR SAHIB.

SACRAMENT. **Sikhs** recognize no sacraments. The word belongs to Western religious practice and, like “clergy,” is inappropriate in the Sikh context.

SACRED AREAS. According to **Sikh Rahit Marayada**, only **Amrit-dhari Sikhs**, loyal in their observance of the **Rahit**, are permitted to enter particular areas of a **takhat**. Other parts of a takhat are open to all, **Sikh** or non-Sikh, except for *patits* and *tanakhāhīe*. **Gurdwaras** are open to all.

SADA KAUR (1762–1832). The widow of Gurbakhsh Singh, heir to the chieftainship of the **Kahnaiya misl**, who was killed in 1782. She was recognized as the effective leader of the misl and for some time was able to prevent **Ranjit Singh** from absorbing it by marrying her daughter Mahtab Kaur to him. Relations became increasingly strained, however, and in 1821 Ranjit Singh confiscated the Kahnaiya territories, keeping her in custody until her death in 1832.

SADDU AND MADDU. Both of these brothers were musicians at the court of **Guru Gobind Singh**. Both played the rabab.

See also MUSIC.

SADH, BHAI. A pious Sikh of **Guru Hargobind** who is so mentioned in the relatively reliable mid-17th-century *Dabistān-i Mazāhib*.

SADHANA. A **bhagat** who tradition claims was a butcher by profession. One work of his appears in the **Adi Granth** (Adi Granth, p. 858).

SADHĀRAN PĀṬH. “Ordinary reading.” A complete reading of the **Guru Granth Sahib** with gaps between installments. The reading may be completed in a week, a month, or with an indefinite conclusion and no preordained date for the **bhog**. It is also called a *sahaj pāṭh*.

See also AKHAND PĀṬH; KHULLĀ PĀṬH; SAPTĀHAK PĀṬH.

SĀDH SAṄGAT. A congregation of believing **Sikhs**.

SADHŪ. Mendicant; renunciant; ascetic.

SAGUṆA. The doctrine that **God** possesses visible “qualities” or attributes.

See also NIRGUṆA.

SAHAJ. The condition of ineffable bliss that is the climax of *nām simaran*; eternal bliss in union with **Akal Purakh**. The word is taken from the usage of the **Naths**.

SAHAJ-DHĀRĪ. A Sikh who does not observe the **Rahit** and, in particular, cuts his or her hair. The etymology of the term is disputed. **Singh Sabha** scholars believed it to mean “slow adopter” and to designate those **Sikhs** who were on the path to full **Khalsa** membership. A much more likely origin is that the term derives from **sahaj**, meaning the ineffable bliss of union that climaxes the process of *nām simaran*. Practically all Sahaj-dharis are members of the **Khatri/Arora/Ahluvalia** group of urban castes. This group commonly used to have one son of a family initiated into the Khalsa while the rest of the family remained Sahaj-dharis.

See also IDENTITY.

SAHAJ PĀṬH. *See* SADHĀRAN PĀṬH.

SĀHIB. “Sir.” A title for **Akal Purakh** or one implying great respect for places of religious significance. The **Golden Temple**, for example, is always called **Harimandir Sahib** or Darbar Sahib, and **Amritsar** is often known as Amritsar Sahib. Sahib is also applied to men to denote respect.

SAHIB CHAND (?–1700). A Sikh warrior in the force of **Guru Gobind Singh**. He took part in the **Battle of Bhangani** (1688). His courage and fighting skill earned him a mention in the Tenth Guru’s **Bachitar Natak**. He fell fighting during the Battle of Nirmogarh in 1700.

SAHIB DEVI (?–1734). Sahib Devi, or Sahib Devan, was the third wife of **Guru Gobind Singh**. Because she was childless she was, according to tradition, designated Mother of the **Khalsa** and renamed **Sahib Kaur**. The change will have taken place during the **Singh Sabha** period. **Gurmat Prakash Bhag Sanskar**, which was promulgated in 1915, still lists her name as Sahib Devi.

See also KAUR.

SAHIB KAUR. *See* SAHIB DEVI (?–1734).

SAHIB SINGH, BHAI (1665–1705). One of the Cherished Five who died fighting during the Battle of **Chamkaur**.

SAHIB SINGH (1892–1977). Distinguished Sikh theologian and commentator on the **Adi Granth**. Author of the 10-volume commentary *Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib Darpan*. Born as Nathu Ram, he became a **Sikh** at age 14.

SAHIB SINGH BEDI (1756–1834). A direct descendant of **Nanak** and greatly venerated by the **Sikhs**. From his father he inherited property at Una in Hoshiarpur District. A vigorous man, he led armed Sikhs in forays across the Satluj River. He developed a considerable reputation as a Sikh preacher and gathered a large following in central **Punjab**. Among his disciples, Maharaja **Ranjit Singh** figured conspicuously, and in 1801 Sahib Singh Bedi conducted his coronation ceremonies in **Lahore**.

SĀHIB-ZĀDE. “Offspring of the Master”: **Ajit Singh, Jujhar Singh, Zoravar Singh,** and **Fateh Singh**, sons of **Guru Gobind Singh**. The two elder sons were killed by **Mughals** in 1704 while defending **Chamkaur**. The two younger ones were cruelly executed in 1705 by the Mughal administrator of Sirhind, **Vazir Khan**, bricked up alive and so dying the death of **shahids**.

See also SUCHANAND (?–1710).

SAID BEG (?–1703). A **Mughal** general who was encouraged by the raja of Bilaspur, Ajmer Chand, to join in an attack against **Guru Gobind Singh**. Tradition claims that as soon as Said Beg saw the Guru he was instantly transformed and went to his aid. He was killed while fighting for the Guru in 1703.

SAIDPUR. A small town eight miles southeast of Gujranwala that was sacked by **Babur** in 1520. The **janam-sakhis** all record that **Nanak** was present on the occasion. The town was subsequently rebuilt by the emperor Akbar and renamed Eminabad.

SAIF KHAN/SAIFUDDIN MAHMUD (?–1685). A **Mughal** courtier who supported **Aurangzeb** during the war of succession (1657–1658). In later life Saif Khan became a close friend of **Guru Tegh Bahadur** and lodged the Ninth Master during the latter’s stay at his home in Saifabad, near present-day **Patiala**.

SAIN. Believed to have been a barber of Rewa who lived in the late 14th and early 15th centuries. He is reputed to have been a disciple of Ramanand. The **Adi Granth** contains one of his hymns. In 18th-century Sikh tradition, Sain is claimed to have been reincarnated in the form of **Sahib Singh**, one of the **Panj Piare**.

SAINAPATI, CHANDRA SAIN. Little is known of Sainapati apart from the fact that he was a writer in the literary court of **Guru Gobind Singh**. His sobriquet, *saināpati*, means “general” and may suggest that he also played a role in the Guru’s army as it was. That for which he is best known is the writing of the famous **gur-bilas** work *Srī Gur-Sobhā*, “Radiance of the Guru,” a narrative poem of the “grandeur of the Guru” style that was earlier believed to have been completed in either 1711 or 1745. Recent research has persuasively shown, however, that the work was probably begun around 1700 and completed a year or so after the death of Guru Gobind Singh in 1708. The work provides rare testimony to the beliefs and practices of the **Khalsa** in the early 18th century, particularly in later chapters in the context of the Khalsa’s tragic loss of the Tenth Guru. It gives the date of the founding of the Khalsa as 1695.

Although *Srī Gur-Sobhā* is by far Sainapati’s most famous work, he is also known for having composed others while in the court of Guru Gobind Singh. One of these, for example, is his *Chanakyā Nītī*, a **Brajbhasha** rendition of the Sanskrit *Arthashastra* of Kautilya (also known as Chanakya), the manual of polity, which may also suggest Sainapati’s martial connection, while another is a text on medicine titled the *Rām Binod*.

See also KHALSA DATE; LITERATURE.

SAINBIDAR. The name of **Guru Gobind Singh**’s favorite horse.

SĀKHĪ. An anecdote concerning the life of **Nanak**; a story from a **janam-sakhi**.

SĀKHĪ RAHIT KĪ. A prose **rahit-nama** mistakenly attributed to **Nand Lal**.

See also PRASHĀN-UTTAR; TANAKHĀH-NĀMĀ.

SAKHI SARVAR. A popular semi-legendary figure among the rural people of the **Punjab**, widely worshiped by **Sikhs** and **Hindus**, as well as Muslims. Sakhi Sarvar attracted attention in the late 19th century, particularly from British scholars. His real name was, by tradition, Sayyid Ahmad, and he is said to have lived in the twelfth century. He practiced austerities in the area of **Multan**, and his reputation for working miracles attracted a vast following.

SALUTATIONS. An early form of salutation was “Pairi pavana,” loosely translated as “I fall at your feet.” “Kartar Kartar,” “[Hail to] the Creator,” was also common. Later, “Sat Sri Akal” (True is the Immortal One) became dominant as the common salutation, used by **Sikhs** and non-Sikhs addressing

Sikhs. Among Sikhs a more formal greeting is “*Vahigurū jī kā Khālsā*” (Hail to the **Guru**’s **Khalsa**), to which the response is “[Siri] *Vahigurū jī kī fateh*” (Hail the Guru’s victory).

SAMANA. A town near **Patiala** from which, claims tradition, the executioner of **Guru Tegh Bahadur** and that of the **Guru Gobind Singh**’s younger sons hailed. To avenge these tragedies, **Banda** attacked the town in 1709.

SAMARATH RAMDAS (1608–1681). A **Hindu** saint from Maharashtra who, although the religious guide of the famous Shivaji, is known to Sikh tradition for a conversation he had apparently had with **Guru Hargobind** in which the Sixth Guru explained his turn to militancy. The phrase with which he is best associated was uttered, tradition continues, after Guru Hargobind had explained how he was internally a **sadhu** and externally a prince: *yeh hamāre man bhāvati hai*: “I find this appealing.”

SAME-SEX MARRIAGE. Although references to and metaphors regarding marriage and family abound within the **Sikh** scripture, there is no specific statement within the **Guru Granth Sahib** in regard to same-sex marriage. While the **Sikh Rahit Marayada** is also silent on this specific issue, the guide does contain a section devoted to marriage (*anand sanskāra*) that implies that the ceremony usually, and thus normally, takes place between a man and a **woman** of marriageable age, especially since terms like boy (*larka*) and girl (*larki*) are commonly used. In the light of the recent passage of legislation regarding same-sex marriages in countries in which many Sikhs reside, particularly within **Canada** (passed in 2005) and the **United Kingdom** (passed in July 2013), a number of **gurdwaras** in these countries were prompted to send requests to the **Akal Takhat** to clarify a general “Sikh position” on the issue. What has since been issued in response is a memorandum, or a *sandesh*, by the acting **jathedar** of the **Akal Takhat**, Giani Gurbachan Singh, claiming that such unions were against the spirit of **Gurmat**, prohibiting same-sex marriages conducted within a gurdwara. All gurdwaras the world over are now enjoined to disallow such ceremonies and thus abide by the jathedar’s interpretation of Gurmat, and many individual gurdwara boards have recently drafted rules to ensure that they abide by this sandesh while simultaneously ensuring that they do not break the law of the respective country in which the gurdwara is situated.

SAMMAT DATING. Vikrami dating (or Bikrami dating, i.e., according to the era of Vikramaditya), which is approximately 56 years and nine months ahead of common-era dating. For example, the equivalent of the first nine months of S. 1957 is A.D. 1900 (or 1900 C.E.). The equivalent of the last

three months is equivalent to the first three months of A.D. 1901. In such dating *S.* stands for Sammat (or Sanvat). Prior to the British annexation of the **Punjab** in 1849, **Sikh** dates were either Sammat or Hijari (the Muslim era). In the period of the **Singh Sabha**, Hijari dating was abandoned, and Sikh dates were given as either Sammat or **San** or both.

See also NANA KSHAHI CALENDAR.

SAMPAT PĀTH. A type of *akhaṇḍ pāth*. In this variety of reading, after the recitation of every complete hymn a predetermined **shabad** or **shalok** is repeated. While an *akhaṇḍ pāth* generally takes 48 hours a *sampat pāth* takes 96. The practice has, however, generally died out as it is reminiscent to many **Sikhs** of **Hindu** rituals.

SAMUND SINGH, BHAI (1901–1972). A leading **Sikh** musicologist and virtuoso who was perhaps the first Sikh to broadcast *kīrtan* from **Lahore** on All India Radio.

See also MUSIC.

SANATAN SIKHS. “Traditional **Sikhs**”; conservative Sikhs within the **Singh Sabha**, as opposed to the radical **Tat Khalsa**. The term assumed an inclusive view of the Sikh faith, accepting beliefs drawn from a wide range of **Hindu** and **Muslim** tradition (beliefs in the Vedas, Hindu epics, idolatry, **Sufi pirs**, etc.). Sanatan Sikhs, comprising largely the landed aristocracy and those of similar views, were largely responsible for the founding of the first Singh Sabha in **Amritsar** in 1873. They retained their hold on Amritsar but were soon opposed by the more ardent followers of the Tat Khalsa in **Lahore** and elsewhere who stressed the exclusive nature of the Sikh faith. The two groups shared membership in the **Chief Khalsa Divan**, which they co-founded in 1902, but the Tat Khalsa found that it largely reflected the views of the Sanatan Sikhs. During the early decades of the 20th century, influence in the **Panth** passed increasingly to the Tat Khalsa, leaving the Sanatan Sikhs with a rapidly declining strength. Among the prominent Sanatan Sikhs were **Khem Singh Bedi** and **Avtar Singh Vahiria**.

SAN DATING. Dating according to the Christian (or common) era.

See also SAMMAT DATING.

SANDHANVALIA FAMILY. A family of **Jat Sikhs**, the principal rivals for power against the **Dogra** family in the turbulent years immediately following the death of Maharaja **Ranjit Singh** in 1839. The principal members were Lahna Singh, Attar Singh, and Ajit Singh. Their most conspicuous success was the assassination of **Sher Singh**, his son Partap Singh, and

Dhian Singh Dogra in 1843. This was followed by the revenge killing of Lahna Singh and Ajit Singh shortly after. Attar Singh was killed the following year.

See also THAKUR SINGH SANDHANVALIA (1837–1887).

SAṄGAT. Being together; a congregation. The *saṅgat* is of central importance in the **Sikh** faith, the assembly of believers being the venue where the divine **Name** is remembered by the singing of *kīrtan*. The terms *satsaṅg* (the company of truth) or *sādhisaṅg* (the company of the pious) are also used.

See also SĀDH SAṄGAT.

SANGAT RAI (?–1696). Mentioned as Sangatia in the Tenth Guru's **Bachitar Natak**, Sangat Rai was sent by **Guru Gobind Singh** to the raja of Guler on an embassy.

SANGAT SINGH (?–1705). According to a strong **Sikh** tradition, Sangat Singh was the Sikh who bore a striking resemblance to **Guru Gobind Singh**. As such, during the Battle of **Chamkaur**, when only the Guru and five Sikhs remained alive, the five Sikhs acting as **Panj Piare** commanded the Guru to escape; Sangat Singh then disguised himself as the Guru. After the Guru and three of his Sikhs escaped under the cover of night, the **Mughal** and **Pahari** force stormed the fortress. Tradition speaks of Sangat Singh's extraordinary ability in fighting off the horde but ultimately he was cut down although he initially fooled the opposing soldiers by his disguise.

SANGRAM SHAH (?–1688). The most famous of the **Sikhs** who fell at the **Battle of Bhangani** in 1688. Sango Shah, as he is more popularly known, was the cousin of **Guru Gobind Singh**. In the **Bachitar Natak**, the Tenth Guru praises the extraordinary ability and courage of Sango Shah, who confronts the mercenary **Najabat Khan**, both of whom killed the other.

SAṄGRAND. The first day of the month according to Bikrami dating. San-grands are observed as highly auspicious by the **Panth**. Bathing in the pool surrounding **Harimandir Sahib** is particularly popular, as many **Sikhs** believe that this confers health and prosperity during the remainder of the month.

See also AMĀVAS; PANCHAMĪ; PŪRAN-MĀSHĪ.

SANSRAM. The grandson of **Guru Amar Das** who is said to have composed a number of pothis of which **Guru Arjan** made use while creating the **Adi Granth**.

SANSĀR. The cycles of **transmigration**. According to **Gurmat**, a person can escape *sansār* by regular meditation on the divine **Name**, leading finally to permanent bliss.

See also MUKTĪ; SAHAJ.

SANT. Originally applied to followers of the **Sant Tradition**, either as religious poets or as ordinary believers. The word derives from **sat**, “truth,” the Sant being “a person who knows the truth.” Following the end of the line of personal **Gurus** within the **Panth** in 1708, the ancient master/disciple tradition survived, though the master could never be called a Guru. Many **Sikhs** attached themselves to preceptors who had acquired reputations as teachers or exemplars and who eventually acquired the title of “Sant.” They continue to flourish within the Panth, particularly among its rural members, and some of them command substantial influence. Recent examples with considerable political prestige include Sant **Fateh Singh**, Sant **Harchand Singh Longoval**, and Sant **Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale**.

SANT BHĀSHĀ. *See* ADI GRANTH LANGUAGE.

SANT DAS, BHAI. One of the scribes who, tradition notes, was responsible for the transmission of various manuscripts of the **Adi Granth**.

SANT NIRANKARI. Founded by Avtar Singh in the 1940s as a breakaway from the **Nirankaris**. The principal differences between the Sant Nirankaris and orthodox **Sikhs** are the former’s addition of other works to the **Adi Granth** and the exalted homage paid to their leader as **Guru**. In 1978 there was conflict with orthodox Sikhs over holding of a Sant Nirankari conference in **Amritsar**, an incident that led to a fatal police shooting and to the emergence of **Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale** as a leader of the orthodox. Bhindranvale’s violent denunciations were widely reported, and in 1980 the leader of the Sant Nirankaris, Gurbachan Singh, was assassinated. After more than a decade of serious discord with the orthodox Sikhs, the sect largely faded from sight.

SANTOKH SINGH (1788–1844). The most prominent of all **Sikh** hagiographers. A **Chhimba** by **caste**, he was born near **Amritsar** but spent most of his working life in **Malwa**, where he lived in Buria and Kaithal under the patronage of their respective **sardars**. Santokh Singh wrote indifferent verse in a mixture of **Punjabi** and **Braj**. He was strongly influenced by the heretical ideas of the **Handalis** and by the Vedantic doctrines of the **Udasis** and **Nirmalas** but earned considerable popularity owing to the fact that he covered the complete range of **Gurus**. His account of **Nanak**, *Gur Nānak*

Prakāsh (or the *Nānak Prakāsh*), which was completed in 1823, takes as its principal source the **Bala tradition**, supplemented by the *Gyān-ratanāvalī* and by other **janam-sakhis**. The other Gurus he covered in his lengthy *Gur Partāp Sūray* (the *Sūraj Prakāsh*), completed in 1844.

See also ANAND GHAN; BUNĠĀ; LITERATURE.

SANT-SIPĀHĪ. The ideal **Sikh**. Spiritual qualities are summed up in the first word. A Sikh should be humble and pious like a **Sant**, devoted to the *nām*, and willing to be the dust under everyone's feet. A Sikh should also possess the martial qualities of a sipahi (soldier), ever courageous and bravely prepared to fight gallantly for justice even if it should mean death. The term applies to both male and female Sikhs, though in actual usage it is largely confined to men.

SANT TRADITION. A religious movement in northern India that draws heavily on **Bhakti** antecedents but also has other roots. Two major sources can be identified. Vaishnava Bhakti (devotion to one of the avatars or "incarnations" of the god Vishnu, particularly Krishna or Ram) is one of these, and for most Sant poets is clearly the dominant source. To it must be added the **Nath** tradition, a source that is particularly evident in the works of **Kabir** (probably c. 1440–1518). **Sufi** influence may also have contributed to the development of Sant ideals, though its influence was appreciably less than the first two sources. As with believers in Bhakti, the Sants stress devotion as essential to liberation. They differ in their insistence that **God** is *nirgun* (without form) and can be neither incarnated nor represented iconically as can the *sagun* (with form) concept. They evidently owe their stress on a wholly interior response to the Nath. God, immanently revealed, is contemplated inwardly, and all exterior forms are spurned. Sants are commonly (but wrongly) included in Vaishnava Bhakti. The connection with the Sant tradition of Maharashtra is closer. Most Sant poets were of humble backgrounds, as with the weaver Kabir or the Outcaste leather worker **Ravidas**. **Nanak** and his successor **Gurus**, though certainly within the tradition, were exceptions to this rule as all were high-caste **Khatris**. The tradition still thrives, a modern representative being the **Radhasoami** movement.

SAPTĀHAK PĀṬH. "Seven-day reading," the most common period for an intermittent reading of the complete **Guru Granth Sahib**. The reading concludes with a **bhog**.

See also AKHAND PĀṬH; PĀṬH; SADHĀRAN PĀṬH; SAMPAṬ PĀṬH.

SARAB LOH. “All Steel.” From the time of **Guru Gobind Singh** onward an epithet for God. The term is also used as a description for Mahakal or Shiv (Siva).

See also AKĀL USTATI.

SARAB LOH GRANTH. A work by an unknown poet, probably dating from the late 18th century, which concerns an avatar of **Sarab Loh**, or Shiv (Siva). Traditionally (but mistakenly), it has been regarded as the work of **Guru Gobind Singh**. Among the **Nihangs** it has been particularly popular. **Tara Singh Narotam**, the **Nirmala** scholar, claimed it to be by **Sukkha Singh**, the **granthi** of **Patna Sahib**. Because it contains verses in praise of the **Khalsa**, it is at least thought to derive from a **Sikh** origin. The work has been little studied.

SARAGARHI. A battle that took place in September 1897 in the North-West Frontier Province between a small detachment of the 36th **Sikhs** and Afghan tribesmen. The small number of Sikhs defended the outpost of Saragarhi to the last soldier. In honor of such bravery a **gurdwara** was erected in Amritsar near the Golden Temple and another in Firozpur.

SĀRAṄG KĪ VĀR. This is a famous composition within the **Adi Granth**. Thirty-five of its *paurīs* were written by **Guru Ram Das** and one by **Guru Arjan**. Furthermore, Guru Arjan prefixed each of the *paurīs* with shaloks composed by all of the Gurus including himself. It is sung in *saraṅg rāg* and so its title (*Adi Granth*, pp. 1237–1251).

SARBARAH. Official appointed by the British to manage **Harimandir Sahib** until it was taken over by the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee** in 1926.

SARBAT DĀ BHALLĀ. “[May] all be blest,” the three closing words of **Ardas** commonly uttered as a blessing.

SARBAT KHĀLSĀ. The “entire **Khalsa**” or “plenary **Khalsa**,” a term that emerged during the later 18th century to describe the temporary unity accomplished by the linking of **misls** for some shared purpose, such as campaigns against the Afghan invader. Today it means a representative body of **Sikhs** summoned by the **Jathedar** of **Akal Takhat**, acting on instructions from the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee**, for an important matter concerning the **Panth**.

SARDĀR. “Chieftain.” In the 18th century, a title applied to the leader of a **misl** or **jatha**. Today it is invariably applied to all **Kes-dhari Sikhs**. The form for women is **Sardarni**.

SARDUL SINGH CAVEESHAR (1886–1963). Prominent radical journalist during the early decades of the 20th century. Caveeshar was particularly noted for having played a major role in the Gurdwara **Rakab-Ganj** agitation. His narration of events regarding the **Gurdwara Reform Movement** appear in his 1937 book *The Sikh Studies*.

SAROPĀ. “Head and feet.” Robe of honor. Saropas are given to individuals for piety or distinction. The quality of the saropa reflects the status of the recipient, ranging from saffron head coverings to resplendent robes.

SAROVAR. The pool for bathing that is sometimes part of a **gurdwara**. The name **Amritsar** is a combination of *amrit* (nectar) and *sar* [*ovar*] (pool). The term is frequently and ineptly translated by the ugly word “tank.”

SARUP DAS BHALLA. Author of the *Mahimā Prakāsh Kavītā*, said to have been completed in 1776 C.E.

SAT (ALSO SATI, SATYA, SACH, SACHA). “True.” That which genuinely exists. The word is immensely important in the **Sikh** tradition (and in other Indian traditions also) and is impossible to translate satisfactorily.

SATGURŪ. “True **Guru**.” Term of particular reverence.

SATĪ (SUTTEE). The burning of a widow on her deceased husband’s funeral pyre. The practice was denounced by the **Gurus**.

SATI DAS (?–1675). One of three **Sikhs** executed in **Delhi** with **Guru Tegh Bahadur**.

See also DAYAL DAS (?–1675); MATI DAS (?–1675).

SATIYUG. *See* KALIYUG (KALIYUGA).

SAT-NĀM. “True [is] the divine **Name**.” A common form for *nām japāṇ*, that is, for practicing *nām simarāṇ* by means of the simple repetition of a single word or mantra.

SATSAṄG. *See* SĀDH SAṄGAT.

SAT SRĪ AKĀL. “True is the Immortal One.” The common greeting used when at least one person is a **Sikh**. It is also used as a triumphal shout in Sikh assemblies. A leader cries “*Bole so nihāl*” (Blessed is the one who utters . . .) to which all who are present reply with a fervent “*Sat Srī Akāl!*”

See also SALUTATIONS; VĀHIGURŪ JI KĀ KHĀLSĀ, VĀHIGURŪ JI KĪ FATEH.

SATTA AND BALVAND. *See* BALVAND AND SATTA.

SATVANT KAUR. The famous novel by Bhai Vir Singh, the complete title of which is *Srīmatī Satvant Kaur dī Jīvan Vithiā* (The Life Story of Satvant Kaur). Its first part appeared in 1900 while its second more than a quarter century later in 1927.

See also LITERATURE.

SAU SAKHĪĀN. “The Hundred Sayings,” correctly entitled *Gur Ratan Māl*. In it are embedded two brief **rahit-namas** (**sakhi** 8 and **sakhi** 65). It was probably composed in the late 18th century and extensively interpolated in the first half of the 19th. One version of this work was particularly popular with the **Namdharis**, containing a prophecy that they claimed pointed to their leader **Ram Singh**.

SAVĀ LAKH. “A lakh and a quarter.” The **Khalsa**. **Gobind Singh** traditionally declared that in place of the tiny number of **Sikhs** who had stood by his father at the time of his execution, he would create a highly visible host numbering 125,000 (*savā lakh*). The understanding implicit in this is that each individual Khalsa Sikh was the equivalent of 125,000 non-Khalsa soldiers.

SAVAYYĀ, SAVAIYĀ. A kind of meter; a song in this meter; a panegyric.

SECTS. The idea of a **Sikh** sect is something of an issue for the normative Sikh tradition of the **Khalsa**. Indeed, for those Sikhs largely inspired by the intellectual currents established by the **Singh Sabha**, Sikhism is a tradition which should possess no sects whatsoever. This line of thought posits that all of the **Sikh Gurus** were of one mind (literally, in this regard) and so logically theirs was a singular tradition that was reified through a single historical trajectory, all of which make the existence of sects impossible. Ideally, therefore, such Sikh sects as there are should have no affiliation with the Sikh tradition proper.

Not all Sikhs hold this point of view, however. Even the predominant Singh Sabha ideologue **Kahn Singh of Nabha** was somewhat sympathetic to certain Sikh sects, some of which focus on what their members perceive as the teachings of **Guru Nanak**. The reality is that there are many Sikh sects, some of which are tacitly embraced by the normative tradition and others, particularly those who loudly proclaim their trust in a living human Guru, that are not. *See also* NAMDHARI; NIHANG; NIRANKARI.

SELĪ. The woolen cord that **Nanak** is thought to have worn in his turban. It is traditionally believed to have been passed down to his successors until **Hargobind** put it aside as inappropriate to the *mīrī/pīrī* role that he was assuming.

SEPIDĀRĪ. The Punjabi system of granting customary shares of each harvest to members of various **castes** (agricultural laborers, carpenters, barbers, sweepers, etc.) tied to a particular patron in a hereditary service arrangement. In most of northern India, this system is known as *jajmani*.

SEVĀ. “Service.” This may be rendered to the **Guru**, either in money or kind or duties performed, or it may be directed to ordinary people. In the former case, it is normally focused on the **gurdwara** and involves cash donations, contributions of food to the *laṅgar*, or such unpaid duties as reading the scripture, cleaning the premises, polishing the shoes of worshippers, or helping in the *laṅgar*. The word can also be given a wider connotation to mean service to the community in the general sense.

SEVĀDĀR. Servant, attendant at a **gurdwara**.

SEVA PANTH. Followers of **Ghahnaiya Ram** who formed an order dedicated to service of the wider community. The order was formed largely by Addan Shah, a Sindhi disciple converted by Bhai **Ghahnaiya** early in the 18th century, and until the **Partition** of India in 1947 its chief center was at Nurpur in Sindh. Seva-panthis are **Sahajdhari Sikhs** and must earn their keep by labor, not by begging. Their distinctive clothing is simple, and their way of life austere. Celibacy is enjoined and borrowing money forbidden. The size of the order is very small.

SEVA SINGH THIKRIVALA (c. 1882–1935). An **Akali** who was the moving spirit behind the **Praja Mandal** (Tenants Association) of the princely states. In 1935 he succumbed to treatment received in a **Patiala** jail.

SGPC. *See* SHIROMANĪ GURDWĀRĀ PARBANDHAK COMMITTEE.

SHABAD (SABAD). “Word.” Shabad has two related meanings. (1) For **Nanak**, it was the revelation that communicates the message of the *nām*. The Word is uttered by the mystical **Guru** to the believer who thereby perceives the *nām* (the divine **Name**) around and within him or her. (2) As Nanak himself came to be regarded as the inspired communicator of the shabad, his hymns were treated as its actual expression. This belief was extended to his successors as Guru, and shabad thus came to mean a hymn recorded in the **Adi Granth**.

See also SHALOK (SALOK).

SHABADĀRATH. The simple explanation of difficult words within the text of the **Adi Granth**. Also known as *bhaṣiā*.

SHABAD HAZĀRE. A group of seven hymns taken out of the **Guru Granth Sahib** that are commonly found in *gūṭkās* or breviaries.

See also LITERATURE.

SHABAD HAZĀRE PĀTISHĀHĪ 10. A collection of 10 shabads from the **Dasam Granth** attributed to **Guru Gobind Singh**. In this collection appears one of the only Punjabi shabads in the entire Dasam Granth, underscoring, tradition claims, the Tenth Guru’s pain at the news of his sons’ deaths.

SHAHĀDAT. “Martyrdom,” a term that shares the same importance for the **Sikh** faith as **shahid**. It is justified on the grounds that it becomes inevitable when the **Panth** is resolutely involved in protecting the weak from oppression and the defenseless against tyrants. Sikhs who avow martyrdom as a supreme virtue insist that at no point have the **Gurus** ever been quietist or pacifist.

SHAHBAZ SINGH (?–1745). The famous **Sikh** who, tradition claims, was broken on the wheel along with his father Subeg Singh in 1745. This sacrifice is noted in the contemporary Sikh **Ardas**.

SHAHĪD. “Martyr.” The concept of martyrdom, evidently borrowed from the Islamic culture of the **Punjab**, is extremely important in **Sikh** history and tradition. Before the arrival of the British, all martyrs met their deaths at Muslim hands. Two **Gurus**, **Arjan** and **Tegh Bahadur**, are held to have been martyred, and the **shahid-ganj** (place of martyrdom) in each case is endued with a special sanctity. In later history, three martyrs who exercise a particular fascination are the two **Sahibzade**, the younger children of **Guru Gobind Singh** who are believed to have been bricked up alive in **Sirhind**; and **Dip Singh**. The two older children of the Guru are also regarded as

martyrs, as is **Banda** Bahadur. The concept has continued to play a central part in the history of the **Panth**. **Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale** is widely regarded as a modern martyr, and there are many more besides him.

SHAHĪD-BILĀS (BHĀĪ MANĪ SĪNGH). The title of a versified narrative of the life of Bhai Mani Singh prepared by Kavi Seva Singh Kaushish in the early 19th century.

See also LITERATURE.

SHAHĪDGAÑJ. The *Nakhhās*, or saleyards (for slaves, captives, and any other war prizes), in **Lahore** where numerous **Sikhs** were executed during the mid-18th century, particularly under the rule of **Zakarya Khan**. Subsequently a **gurdwara** was built on the site and was the scene of heavy fighting during the **Partition** riots.

SHAHĪDGAÑJ AGITATION (1935–1940). A long-running dispute between the **Sikhs** and **Muslims** of **Lahore** for the possession of the site on which **Gurdwara** Shahidganj is built. While Sikhs claimed it was the site on which many Sikhs accepted martyrdom, the Muslims of Lahore believed it marked the site on which Muslims suffered a similar fate. In May 1940 the suit was finally dismissed.

SHAHĪDĪ. “Martyrdom.”

See also SHAHĀDAT.

SHAHID MISL. A small **misl** with territory in the **Malwa** area around **Damdama** Sahib. **Dip Singh** is believed to have belonged to this misl. It was renowned for keeping alive the traditions of the **Khalsa**, later maintained by the **Nihangs**.

SHAHID SIKH MISSIONARY COLLEGE. An institute in **Amritsar** that was opened in October 1927 for training **granthis** and *prachāraks* (itinerant preachers). It does not specialize in **Sikh** theology, its function concentrating more on such skills as the correct reading of Sikh scripture. **Sikhism**, as a lay faith, offers no seminary or training institute for specializing in theology.

SHĀHMUKHĪ. “From the Mouth of the King.” Script derived from Perso-Arabic that accommodates hard retroflexive consonants and is commonly used to write **Punjabi**, especially the type of Punjabi more common in Pakistan today.

SHAHZADA. The son of Bhai **Mardana**.

SHALOK (SALOK). Normally a couplet; any short composition contained in the **Adi Granth**.

See also SHABAD (SABAD).

SHALOK MAHALLĀ 9. These are the 57 compositions of **Guru Tegh Bahadur** that form the final portion of the **Guru Granth Sahib (Adi Granth, pp. 1426–1429)**, just before a collection of hymns by **Guru Arjan**, the *Mundāvāṇī* and the **Rag-Mala**. Sikh tradition claims that these hymns were prepared while Guru Tegh Bahadur was in a **Mughal** jail in 1675 awaiting execution.

See also LITERATURE.

SHALOK SAHASKRITĪ. The title of a work of 71 verses that appears in the **Guru Granth Sahib**, 67 of which were prepared by **Guru Arjan** and four by **Guru Nanak**. These are generally referred to by the term *Sahaskritī*, as the language of the compositions is a combination of Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Pali (**Adi Granth, pp. 1353–1360**).

See also LITERATURE.

SHALOK VĀRĀN TE VADHĪK. “Shaloks in excess of the *vārs*.” Composed of 152 shaloks, this portion of the **Adi Granth** includes those shaloks that were left over in the process of incorporating such hymns within the *vārs* of the **Adi Granth (Adi Granth, pp. 1410–1426)**.

See also LITERATURE.

SHARDHĀ. Closest **Punjabi** equivalent to “faith,” “trust.”

SHASTAR NĀM-MĀLĀ. “An inventory of weapons.” A portion of the **Dasam Granth** that lists seven weapons and relates the deeds of some who used them. The weapons are the **sword**, the katar dagger, the lance, the quoit, the arrow, the noose, and the gun. The seven names are cryptically expressed as puzzles.

SHER MUHAMMAD KHAN, NAWAB (?–1710). The chief of Malerkotal who had participated in the Battle of **Chamkaur** against **Guru Gobind Singh**. Despite this fact, it was Sher Muhammad Khan who raised his voice against the execution in Sirhind of the Tenth Guru’s youngest sons, an incident sometimes referred to as *hāh dā nāarā*, or “cry for justice.”

SHER SINGH, MAHARAJA (1807–1843). Second son of **Ranjit Singh**. He succeeded his half brother **Kharak Singh** in 1840 but with his son **Partap Singh** was assassinated by the **Sandhanvalia** brothers in 1843. His palace still stands in Batala.

SHIHAN. The masand of **Dhir Mal** notorious in Sikh tradition for having fired a gun at **Guru Tegh Bahadur** very soon after he became the Ninth Guru.

SHIROMANĪ or SHROMANĪ. Great; supreme; paramount.

SHIROMANI AKALI DAL. *See* **AKĀLĪ DAL.**

SHIROMANĪ GURDWĀRĀ PARBANDHAK COMMITTEE. After World War I radical **Sikhs** militantly demanded control of all **gurdwaras**. In 1920 the **Central Sikh League** formed a committee of 175 members known as the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (usually abbreviated to **SGPC**), the intention being that it should launch a movement on behalf of the **Panth** for liberating gurdwaras from their existing custodians, the **mahants**. This was followed by the formation of the **Akali Dal** the same year. The Akali Dal was to attempt to gain control of the gurdwaras, and the SGPC was then to administer them. For five years the struggle was maintained. Eventually the Sikhs won, and the **Sikh Gurdwaras Act of 1925** provided for a committee elected by Sikhs to manage the gurdwaras. Sikh leaders conferred this responsibility on the SGPC, which thereafter possessed a statutory function. As manager of almost all the major gurdwaras in undivided **Punjab**, it controls considerable estates and patronage, much of which is used for political purposes. Since 1925 it has remained in the hands of the **Akalis**.

See also **DELHI SIKH GURDWARA MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE; GURDWARA REFORM MOVEMENT; POLITICAL PARTIES, PREPARTITION; POLITICAL PARTIES, POSTPARTITION.**

SHIVALIK HILLS. Foothills of the Himalayas, forming the northeastern boundary of the **Punjab**. A section of the hills has been very important in the history of the **Sikhs** from the time of **Guru Hargobind** to that of **Guru Gobind Singh**. The **Mughal** empire did not extend far into them, and they were ruled by hill chieftains who acknowledged the suzerainty of the **Mughals**. **Kiratpur** and **Anandpur** are situated on the edge of the **Shivaliks**, overlooking the Punjab plains across the Satluj River.

SHIV-NABH (SIVANABH). A raja whom **Nanak**, according to the **janam-sakhis**, is said to have converted. Traditionally, he is placed in Sri Lanka. There is no evidence for his existence.

SHRĀDH. A **Hindu** ceremony performed annually on behalf of deceased forbears, the purpose being to assist their passage to Paradise or whatever destination has been determined by their karma. Before the late 19th century, the custom was observed by many **Sikhs**. Reformers of the **Tat Khalsa** within the **Singh Sabha**, fortified by scriptural injunctions, mounted a generally successful attack on the practice of the ceremony by Sikhs.

SHUKERCHAKIA MISL. A **misl** with territories to the north and west of **Lahore**. In the late 18th century it won total supremacy in western and central **Punjab**, developing into the Kingdom of the Punjab under **Ranjit Singh**.

SHYAM. The identity of Shyam is not well known although certain **Sikh** traditions claim this to be one of the most oft-appearing sobriquets of **Guru Gobind Singh**, signaling certain compositions within the **Dasam Granth** attributed to him.

SHYAM SINGH. The great-grandson of **Guru Hargobind** who tradition notes was initiated into the **Khalsa** by **Guru Gobind Singh**. After the evacuation of Anandgarh, Shyam Singh and his brother Gulab Singh were left behind to take care of **Anandpur**. Finding this task extremely difficult given the enmity of the **pahari rajas** who successfully laid siege to the town, they escaped to Nahan and remained there until the situation eased, after which they returned to the Guru's city of bliss. Family tradition has it that they purchased the town from the raja of Bilaspur. Their descendants remain there to this day, the Sodhis of Anandpur.

SIDDH (SIDDHA). Eighty-four venerable men believed to have attained immortality through the practice of yoga and to be dwelling deep in the Himalayas. In the **Adi Granth** and the **janam-sakhis**, **Siddh** and **Nath** are used interchangeably.

SIDDH GOSHṬ. "Discourse with the **Siddhs**." A lengthy work by **Nanak** in the **Adi Granth** (pp. 938–936) presented as a conversation between the First Guru and the magical masters of **hatha yoga**.

See also LITERATURE.

SIKH/SIKKH. A Sikh is defined by **Sikh Rahit Marayada** as “any person who believes in **Akal Purakh**, in the 10 **Gurus** (**Guru Nanak** to **Guru Gobind Singh**), in **Sri Guru Granth Sahib**, other writings of the 10 Gurus and their teachings, in the **Khalsa** initiation ceremony instituted by the 10th Guru, and who does not believe in any other system of religious doctrine.” This definition is an enlarged version of what was written into the **Sikh Gurdwaras Act of 1925**. That act marked the victory of the **Tat Khalsa** over others who took a more relaxed view of the **Panth**, particularly the **Sahaj-dharis**. The latter could scarcely agree that a Sikh had to “believe in” (*nischā rakhdā*) the **Khalsa initiation** ceremony or that there was no place for other religious systems. The definition is rather that of a Khalsa Sikh. A definition of a Sikh that would embrace all who claim the title would have to omit these two items and add a reference to the ideal of *nām simaran*. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that this latter definition would be rejected by many members of the Khalsa as inadequate and that an agreed definition is impossible.

See also IDENTITY; SIKHISM.

SIKH ARCHITECTURE. *See* ARCHITECTURE.

SIKH DHARMA OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE. Founded in 1971 in the **United States** by Harbhajan Singh Khalsa Yogiji (commonly called **Yogi Bhajan**), the sect now claims several thousand Western adherents scattered over 17 countries. Its strength is concentrated in the United States. Members are distinguished by white apparel (including **turbans** for women as well as men) and by a rigorous discipline of meditation and what is called kundalini yoga. The movement is also distinctive in that it possesses an ordained ministry. Relations with the orthodox **Khalsa** are cautious, though in general, members are punctilious in observing the **Rahit**. The movement is best known as **3HO** (Healthy Happy Holy Organization, strictly the name of its educational branch). Members all take **Punjabi** names but adopt the name Khalsa as their surname.

SIKH GURDWARAS ACT OF 1925. Enacted by the Legislative Council of the **Punjab**, this act marked the triumph of the **Akalis** and the end of the **Gurdwara Reform Movement**. A list of the major **gurdwaras** of the Punjab was appended to the act, and a committee elected by **Sikhs** was given the right to manage them, giving it considerable powers of patronage. According to a later amendment, **Sahaj-dhari Sikhs** could be enrolled as electors. The act's definition of a Sikh, however, was particularly important as it lent considerable support to the view, advocated by the **Tat Khalsa**, that a Sikh was one who had “no other religion.” A later amendment made this even

clearer, specifying that all persons elected to the committee had to be either **Amrit-dhari** or **Kes-dhari Sikhs**. They were also required to certify that they did not take alcoholic drinks, a restriction that still applies in theory. To this committee the Akalis transferred the name of their own **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee**, and since then it has been supreme in Sikh affairs.

See also DELHI SIKH GURDWARA MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE.

SIKH HANDBILL COMMITTEE. An organization established in late 1907 in the Punjab whose aim was to write and publish leaflets and pamphlets dealing with **Sikh** principles as generally refracted through the lens of the **Chief Khalsa Divan**.

SIKHĪ. The wider **Sikh** faith as opposed to the **Khalsa** belief of Singhi.

SIKHISM. There are conflicting definitions attached to the word “**Sikh**” and it is consequently impossible to define “Sikhism” to the satisfaction of everyone. It may mean the wider body of all who embrace the teachings of **Nanak** and revere the **Adi Granth**; it may be confined to the **Khalsa**; or it may be located somewhere between the two. Usually the term assumes the **Tat Khalsa** meaning that centers firmly on the Khalsa. There is also a problem when one contrasts the normative Sikhism of the intellectual elite with the operative beliefs and customs of the vast majority of the **Panth**. In describing Sikhism, one should be clearly aware that it is normally the former that is placed under scrutiny. Most Sikhs prefer the word **Gurmat** (the teachings of the **Guru**) to Sikhism.

See also IDENTITY; SIKHISM, SEPARATE FAITH.

SIKHISM, SEPARATE FAITH. Although **Nanak** was born a **Hindu** and an overwhelming majority of early **Sikhs** were from Hindu backgrounds, the way of *nām simaran* was open to anyone of any faith, specifically **Muslim** as well as Hindu. All that was required was the **Sant** belief in the inward nature of faith, devoid of any outward symbols and practices. The Third **Guru, Amar Das**, introduced a rudimentary discipline to hold the community of his followers together. At a later date the establishment of the **Khalsa** by the Tenth Guru, **Gobind Singh**, required those who joined it to observe outward symbols that proclaimed their **identity**. This led to the conviction that the Sikhs (at least the Sikhs of the Khalsa) were distinctively different, and eventually there developed the conviction that they were a completely separate community. This conviction owed much to the success of the **Tat Khalsa** in propagating their distinctive view of the Sikh faith.

See also CONVERSION.

SIKH KANYA MAHAVIDYALA. A school founded in Firozpur by **Takht Singh** in 1890 and taken over by the local **Singh Sabha** in 1892 as a school for girls. Female education was at that time a novelty, but the school soon became a model for other **Sikh** schools run by the **Tat Khalsa**. The objective was to train each girl to read and write **Gurmukhi**, to be knowledgeable about the Sikh past, and to perform all household duties. She should be respectful and obedient to her husband and bring up her children in accordance with the Tat Khalsa conception of the Sikh faith.

SIKKHĀN DĪ BHAGAT-MĀLĀ. *See* BHAGAT-RATANĀVALĪ.

SIKH RAHIT MARAYĀDĀ. The title of the definitive statement of the **Khalsa Rahit**, first issued in 1950. The unsatisfactory state of the extant **rahit-namas** was first faced by **Singh Sabha** reformers at the end of the 19th century, and slow progress was made amid the political activities that engaged the **Panth**. Finally, a committee was appointed in 1931 with Principal **Teja Singh** as convener, and by 1932 a draft was complete. Further obstructions occurred, and it was not until 1950 that the work appeared as a small booklet. (Teja Singh did, however, include an English translation of most of the **Rahit** as a chapter in his *Sikhism: Its Ideals and Institutions*, 1938.) Sikh Rahit Marayada has stood the test of time since 1950. The work is divided into two parts: personal discipline and panthic discipline. The first part covers such topics as behavior in a **gurdwara** and reading of the **Guru Granth Sahib**. It also details the order to be followed in the rituals for **birth** and **naming**, **marriage**, and **death**. The second section largely comprises the order for **Khalsa initiation**. An English translation is available.

SIKLI GAR SIKHS. “Sword-polishing Sikhs.” These Sikhs are part of the *lohār*, or ironsmith, **caste** who specialized in making weapons. Tradition claims that this group began to join the Sikh tradition during the time of **Guru Hargobind**.

SIMRANJIT SINGH MANN (1945–). Sikh politician. President of the Shiromani Akali Dal (Amritsar).

SINGH. “Lion.” All male **Amrit-dharis** must add Singh to their first name. The custom is also followed by most **Kes-dharis** and those with a **Khalsa** background, and is thus borne by a large majority of male **Sikhs**. The word is also used in a general sense to designate **Khalsa Sikhs**.

See also AMRIT SANSKĀR; IDENTITY; KAUR; NAMING CEREMONY.

SINGHALADIP. Sri Lanka; the land where Raja **Shivnabh** was believed to rule.

SINGH SABHA MOVEMENT. The first Singh Sabha was founded in 1873 to restore the credibility of the **Sikhs** following **Kuka** disturbances and also to stem what seemed to be clear signs of decay in the **Panth**. After the annexation of the **Punjab** in 1849, the Panth appeared to be declining rapidly, and there were numerous forecasts of its demise. In actual fact, the condition of the Panth was little changed, but educated Sikhs were learning to see it in a distinctively Western mode. The readiness of many Sikhs to indiscriminately adopt Hindu lifestyles was one cause of increasing dismay. Christian missions also seemed to be a threat, and in 1873 the decision of four pupils of the **Amritsar** Mission School to accept Christian baptism prompted the foundation of the Singh Sabha (Singh Society) in that city. Another branch was formed in **Lahore** in 1879, and others followed in areas populated by Sikhs, all supporting a general reformist policy with strong emphasis on the recovery of distinctive Sikh values. This policy was applied through literature, education, religious assemblies, preaching, and public controversy.

Two distinct trends soon emerged, with what have been termed the **Santan Sikhs** prominent in Amritsar and the **Tat Khalsa** dominant in Lahore. A split appeared between the two, with each supported by satellites of smaller sabhas. The need for reform was seen as comparatively little by Amritsar, much greater by Lahore. A third group, much more radical than the other two, emerged in the village of **Bhasaur**. Although a fragile unity between Amritsar and Lahore was achieved in 1902 by the formation of a joint body, the **Chief Khalsa Divan**, this organization proved much too cautious for the Tat Khalsa. The Tat Khalsa progressively assumed complete dominance in Sikh affairs, introducing newly fashioned rituals, stressing **Khalsa** forms, and reinterpreting Sikh history. In 1920 it issued in the **Akali** movement. This Tat Khalsa dominance has continued through the 20th century. Whenever general reference is made to the Singh Sabha nowadays, it is usually the Tat Khalsa that is meant.

SINGHĪ. The faith or spirit of the **Khalsa**.

See also SIKHĪ.

SINGHPURIA MISL. A small **misl**, also known as the **Faizulapuriah misl**, with territories on either side of the Satluj River. This misl was associated with Nawab **Kapur Singh** and must therefore have been taking shape before the Afghan invasions of **Ahmad Shah Abdali**, which began in 1747. Later in the 18th century, it gave way to stronger misl neighbors.

SINGH SĀHIB. A reference to **Guru Gobind Singh** as the mentor of the Sikhs/Singhs. Earlier, it was a term applied to the commanders of the **Khalsa**. **Ranjit Singh**, for example, was designated as such.

SIR-GUM. An initiated **Sikh** who cuts his hair.

SIRHIND. The town to which the youngest **sahibzade** were taken, along with their grandmother, and executed in 1705. Sikh tradition paints a glorious picture of this event as one of resistance, faith, and martyrdom.

See also HĀH DĀ NĀARA; SĀHIB-ZĀDE.

SIRI CHAND (trad. 1494–1629). One of two sons of **Nanak**, believed to have opposed his father's appointment of **Angad** as Second **Guru**. He lived a celibate life and is traditionally regarded as the founder of the **Udasi panth**. The title **Baba** is usually attached to his name.

See also GURU-VANS; LAKHMI DAS (trad. 1497–1555).

SIRĪ RĀG KĪ VĀR. A composition by **Guru Ram Das**.

See also LITERATURE; MUSIC.

SIROPĀ. *See* SAROPĀ.

SIS GANJ. “The place [where the **Guru**'s] head [was struck off].” The large **gurdwara** in Chandni Chauk, **Delhi**, that marks the spot where **Guru Tegh Bahadur** was beheaded on orders from the emperor **Aurangzeb** in 1675.

SITA RAM KOHLI (1899–1962). A major historian of the **Punjab** and the Sikhs.

SKETCH OF THE SIKHS (1812). One of the first 19th-century European accounts of the Sikhs, written by John Malcolm recounting, in part, his stay in the **Punjab** with the Sikhs in 1805. The book was first published as an article in *Asiatick Researches* in 1810 and subsequently reissued in 1812.

SMOKING. *See* HOOKAH (HUQQA); TOBACCO.

SOBHA RAM. Author of *Gur-bilās Bābā Sāhib Singh Bedī*, a **gur-bilas** account of a late 18th-century descendant of Guru Nanak, **Sahib Singh Bedi** (1756–1834), who was a charismatic figure of repute during the period of **Ranjit Singh**. In the *Gur-bilās*, Sobha Ram endows Bedi with supernatural powers and designates him an **avatar** of **Guru Gobind Singh**.

SOBHA SINGH (1901–1986). Famous Sikh painter.

See also ART.

SOBRAON. The final, definitive battle of the first **Sikh** war, fought in February 1846.

SODAR RAHARĀS. *Sodar* comes from *so dar*, “that door,” the words that begin the first of the relevant five hymns recorded in the liturgical section at the beginning of the **Adi Granth** (pp. 8–10); *raharās*, “straight path,” now bears the meaning “supplicatory prayer.” These hymns, together with the following four known as the *so purakh* group (Adi Granth, pp. 10–12), are sung by devout **Sikhs** every day at sundown. The nine hymns are repeated under their appropriate *rāgs* later in the Adi Granth. To them are added the *Benatī chaupāi*, *Savayyā*, and *Doharā* from the **Dasam Granth**, the first five and the last stanzas of the **Anand**, and the *Mundavanī* and *Shalok* by **Guru Arjan**.

See also SOHILĀ or KĪRTAN SOHILĀ.

SODHI. The subcaste of the **Khatris** to which **Ram Das** and all subsequent **Gurus** belonged. Membership in this subcaste conferred honor on all who belonged to it. Two important lineages were the Sodhis of **Kartarpur** and those of **Anandpur**. The former, descended from **Dhir Mal**, have in their possession the copy of the **Adi Granth** said to have been dictated by **Guru Arjan** to Bhai **Gurdas**.

See also CASTE; CHHOṬE MEL; GURU-VANS; SURAJ MAL (1617–?).

SOHĀGAN. A deserving wife who is cherished by her husband. This term is used as a metaphor for the loving believer who wins approval from **God**.

SOHAN KAVI. Pseudonym of the anonymous author of *Gur-bilās Chhevīn Pātshāhī*, the heroic story of **Guru Hargobind**. It is said to be an 18th-century work but actually originates in the early or mid-19th century.

See also DEVI WORSHIP; GUR-BILĀS.

SOHAN LAL SURI. Author of the famous ‘*Umdātuttavārīkh*’ chronicling a part of the reign of **Maharaja Ranjit Singh**.

SOHAN SINGH JOSH (1898–1982). Famous **Akali** turned Communist who was a force in the **Gurdwara Reform Movement**. His autobiography is titled *My Tryst with Secularism*.

SOHILĀ or KĪRTAN SOHILĀ. The five hymns that are sung or chanted by devout **Sikhs** prior to retiring at night. The hymns are recorded at the end of the liturgical portion of the **Adi Granth** (pp. 12–13), and again under their appropriate *rāgs*. The order is also sung at the conclusion of a Sikh cremation.

See also SODAR RAHARĀS.

SORATHI KĪ VĀR. A composition in *rāg sorathi* of **Guru Ram Das**.

See also LITERATURE; MUSIC.

SOURCES. Prior to the 19th century, sources for the study of **Sikh** history and religion are comparatively few. For the teachings of the first five **Gurus** and the Ninth Guru there is the incomparable **Adi Granth**, aided by the works of Bhai **Gurdas**. The **janam-sakhis** are important, though considerable care is required with them as they serve as sources for later periods than that of **Nanak**. The ***Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*** also provides an interesting account of the time of **Guru Hargobind**. For the later **Gurus** and for the founding of the **Khalsa**, the sources are both sparser and more difficult to use. During the 18th century there are the **Dasam Granth**, the early **rahit-namas**, and the early **gur-bilas** literature. These mainly focus on **Guru Gobind Singh** and the **Khalsa**, yet they present the historian with considerable problems and relatively little attention has been devoted to their critical analysis. One such problem is language, many of the 18th-century sources being written in **Braj**. Another is dating. Several sources (particularly the **rahit-namas**) are much later than their purported dates.

During the 19th and particularly the 20th centuries, the sources become much more plentiful. For the reign of **Ranjit Singh**, Persian sources now add much information. Europeans were also in the **Punjab**, and their observations are of increasing value. After the appearance of the **Singh Sabha** movement in 1873, there was a considerable interest in Sikh history and religion, and some important scholars (such as **Vir Singh** and **Kahn Singh Nabha**) emerged within the **Panth**. Two basic problems confront the researcher with regard to sources. The first is that piety frequently leads to some sources being exalted while others are ignored. The second arises from the continuing influence of the **Singh Sabha**. Most scholars are **Singh Sabha** products, their approach to Sikh history and religion shaped by the philosophy of the **Tat Khalsa**. This influence continues today, with the result that a critical treatment of Sikh history and religion must expect to encounter strenuous opposition.

SPORT. Sikhs occupy a major position in Indian sport, particularly those involving physical strength. In addition to Indian sports, such as kabaddi, they have figured prominently in international hockey, cricket, wrestling, and athletics.

See also FAUJA SINGH; “KIKKAR” SINGH PAHILVAN (1857–1914); MILKHA SINGH (1935–).

SRĪ GUR-PRATĀP SŪRAJ GRANTH. *See* SŪRAJ PRAKĀSH (1844).

SRĪ GUR-TĪRTH SAṄGRAHI. The famous guide of 1883 prepared by **Tara Singh Narotam** that lists places throughout what was then India made sacred by the visits of the **Sikh Gurus**, their sons, **wives**, and famous disciples.

SRĪ MUKH VĀK PĀTISHĀHĪ DASVĪN. “Uttered Through the Blessed Mouth of the Tenth Lord.” The claim that begins a number of compositions within the **Dasam Granth** that are believed to have been written by **Guru Gobind Singh** himself rather than by one of his poets/courtiers. It also begins compositions attributed to Guru Gobind Singh that are not a part of today’s Dasam Granth.

SRĪ GUR-PANTH PRAKĀSH. Better known as the *Panth Prakāsh*. This is the **gur-bilas** text prepared by **Giani Gian Singh** in **Braj** verse and completed in 1880. Although a **Nirmala Sikh**, Gian Singh nevertheless prepared a history that was strongly aligned with the later **Tat Khalsa** understanding of Sikh history and tradition. Like Santokh Singh’s *Sūraj Prakāsh*, Gian Singh’s text is also the basis from which many *kathākars* deliver homilies.

STAR OF THE PROSPERITY OF THE PUNJAB. *See* KAUKAB-I INQLĀB-I PANJĀB.

STEINBACH. An Austrian mercenary who served in the army of **Ranjit Singh**, the **Punjab** army following Ranjit Singh’s death, and finally under **Gulab Singh**. In 1845 he published *The Punjaub*, a scissors-and-paste book with many mistakes. His intention was that the book should assist in persuading the British to take over the Punjab.

SŪBĀ. A province or state of an empire or federation. The **Mughal** empire was divided into *sūbā*.

SUBEG SINGH (?–1745). The father of **Shahbaz Singh** who, **Sikh** tradition notes, was broken on the wheel and embraced martyrdom. The story is briefly recounted within the modern **Sikh Ardas**.

SUCHAJJĪ. “The Accomplished Woman.” The title of one of **Guru Nanak**’s compositions in the **Adi Granth**.

SUCHANAND (?–1710). A **Hindu** who was a member of the retinue of **Vazir Khan** of **Sirhind**. When **Zoravar Singh** and **Fateh Singh**, two of the children of **Guru Gobind Singh**, fell into Vazir Khan’s hands, Suchanand urged that they should be executed. This advice was accepted, and the two children were bricked up alive. In 1710 **Banda** wrought terrible vengeance on **Sirhind** and on Suchanand. **Sikhs** sometimes refer to him as **Jhuthanand**, *jhūṭhā* meaning “false,” whereas *suchā* means “true” or “faithful.”

See also SĀHIB-ZĀDE.

SUCHET SINGH. Third of the **Dogra Rajput** brothers who served **Ranjit Singh**. He was killed in battle in 1844 for opposing his nephew **Hira Singh**.

See also DOGRA FAMILY.

SUFI. A member of one of the mystical Sufi orders of Islam. The **Sikh** interaction with Sufis has been an ambiguous one. On the one hand, we have reverence for certain Sufis, such as Shaikh **Farid** and Baba **Bhikan**, both of whose compositions are included within the **Adi Granth**. Included among these would also be **Mian Mir**, whom tradition claims laid the foundation stone of **Harimandir Sahib**. On the other hand, Sufis have also figured somewhat negatively as the enemies of the Sikh Gurus (here we may include **Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi**) or as their foils: in this regard, one may note the “victory over Islam” theme that is discovered throughout the **janam-sakhis**. In these readings **Guru Nanak** bests Sufis such as the **pirs** of **Multan** in displays of power, piety, or knowledge.

SUICIDE. No official guidance is given on the subject of suicide, though it meets with disapproval from **Sikhs** as life is believed to be the gift of **God**. Suicide must be distinguished from the willing death of the martyr (*shahīd*), which is certainly accepted.

SUKHA, BHAI. One of the scribes who, tradition notes, was responsible for the transmission of various manuscripts of the **Adi Granth**.

SUKHBIR SINGH BADAL (1962–). At present Sukhbir Singh Badal, the son of **Prakash Singh Badal**, is the deputy chief minister of the **Punjab** as well as the president of the **Akali Dal**.

SUKHĀSĀN. The procedure whereby in **gurdwaras** the **Guru Granth Sahib** is closed at night, wrapped in rumalas, and transported respectfully to a place of rest.

See also PARKĀSH KARNĀ.

SUKHMANĪ SĀHIB. A lengthy poem by **Guru Arjan** included in the **Adi Granth** (pp. 262–296). The title can mean either “The Pearl of Peace” or “Peace of Mind.” A work of supreme lyricism, it extols the beauty of the divine **Name** and repeatedly declares its crucial importance in the individual’s quest for liberation. It is immensely popular among **Hindus** as well as Sikhs.

See also LITERATURE.

SUKKHA SINGH (1766–1838). Author of *Gur-bilās Dasvīn Pātshāhī*, the heroic story of **Guru Gobind Singh**, completed in 1797. Sukkha Singh shows considerable sympathy with the **Udasis**. His is the earliest **Sikh** work to give 1699 as the date of the founding of the **Khalsa**. The language tends strongly toward **Gurmukhi Braj**.

See also DEVI WORSHIP; GUR-BILĀS.

SULAKHANI. Wife of **Guru Nanak**. She was a Chona **Khatri** from Pakhoke, near Batala, and is commonly referred to as Mata Choni.

SULHI KHAN. A Muslim friend of **Prithi Chand**, leader of the **Minas**. At Prithi Chand’s instigation, he attacked **Guru Arjan** but was killed when his horse fell into a brick kiln.

SULTANPUR (SULTANPUR LODHI). A town in southern **Doaba** near the confluence of the Satluj and Beas Rivers. **Guru Nanak**, as a young man, was employed here by **Daulat Khan Lodi**. It was evidently here that he experienced the call to go out and preach the doctrine of the divine **Name**.

SUNDAR. Author of a work of six stanzas entitled *Sadu*, composed in memory of his grandfather **Guru Amar Das** and acknowledging **Ram Das** as the successor. It is included in the **Adi Granth** (pp. 923–924).

See also MUSIC.

SUNDARI (?–1747). The second of the three **wives** of **Guru Gobind Singh**, married in 1684; the mother of Ajit Singh. Sundari is credited with adding soluble sweets to the water used in the first *amrit sanskār* ceremony. Following the death of her husband, she disagreed with **Banda** on three key questions: abandoning the blue clothing of the **Khalsa** for red, insisting that his followers be vegetarians, and introducing a new Khalsa slogan (*Fateh darshan*). In this way, she emerged as the leader of the early **Tat Khalsa** as opposed to the **Bandai Sikhs**. Ultimately she won all three disputes, yet very little is known about her until her death at an advanced age in 1747.

See also SĀHIB-ZĀDE.

SUNDARĪ (WORK). The title of what is likely Bhai **Vir Singh**'s most famous work, claimed to be the first novel in the **Punjabi** language, written in 1898. The work is powerfully significant as it conveys the trials and tribulations of a female **Khalsa** Sikh during the 18th century refracted through the lens of the modern **Singh Sabha** movement. So influential was this novel that many **Sikhs** in the early 20th century mistook it for an actual vignette of the past, some participating in the **Gurdwara Reform Movement** in order to emulate Bibi Sundari.

SUNDER SINGH MAJITHIA (1872–1941). Active in the **Singh Sabha** and **Chief Khalsa Divan**. The first secretary of the latter. He proved too moderate for many in the **Panth** and saw Chief Khalsa Divan overtaken by the more radical **Akali** movement.

SUPERSTITIONS. The **Tat Khalsa** reformers strongly opposed what they regarded as the superstitious practices of many **Hindus** and wrote prohibitions into **Sikh Rahit Marayada**. **Gurmat**, it states, requires **Sikhs** “to reject **caste** distinctions and untouchability, magical amulets, mantras, and spells; auspicious omens, days, times, planets and astrological signs; the ritual feeding of **Brahmans** to sanctify or propitiate the dead; oblation for the dead, the superstitious waving of lights; [traditional] obsequies; fire sacrifices; ritual feasting or libations; sacred tufts of hair or ritual shaving; fasting for particular phases of the moon; frontal marks, sacred threads and sanctified rosaries; worshipping at tombs, temples or cenotaphs; **idol worship**; and all other such superstitions.” Yet there are nevertheless certain exceptions and these regard the type of **divination** practices that involve hymns from the **Adi Granth**.

SURAJ MAL (1617–?). The son of **Guru Hargobind** and his third wife, **Mahadevi**. The line descending from **Suraj Mal** came to be known as the *vaḍḍe mel* (greater relationship) and formed the **Sodhi** family of **Anandpur**.

See also CHHOTĒ MEL.

SŪRAJ PRAKĀSH (1844). The magnum opus of Bhai **Santokh Singh**, the famous **Nirmala** Sikh scholar. The text itself is in **Braj** verse and covers the history of the 10 **Gurus** and that of **Banda**. It is extremely popular among Sikhs in part because it is very often used as the basis of *kathā*, or homilies, that are delivered in **gurdwaras** or elsewhere by *kathākars*. It is in fact the principal basis on which **M. A. Macauliffe** wrote his famous six-volume 1909 work, *The Sikh Religion*.

The division of *Sūraj Prakāsh* is worth mentioning as, like the title, which may be translated into English as *The Luminescence of the Sun*, the words used for chapter headings and subchapter headings also play on a seasonal metaphor: namely, there are *ruts* or “seasons,” which are according to the 12 symbols of the zodiac, the six seasons, and the two solstices; and there are *ānsus* or “[sun’s] rays.” The incredible popularity of the *Sūraj Prakāsh* probably has much to do with the editing of the text done by Bhai **Vir Singh** in the early 20th century (1927–1935) whose now-massive 14-volume edition of the work carries copious notes that explain in modern **Punjabi** some of the more arcane references in the text but also extrapolate from the text much more than the original language intends. This is clearly seen, for example, in the titles that Vir Singh supplies to each of the divisions, titles which are not in the original manuscript copies of the work.

SURDAS. The famous blind **bhagat**. Two works of his appear in the **Adi Granth**.

SURJIT SINGH BARNALA (1925–). A long-time **Sikh** politician who has served as chief minister of the **Punjab** (1985–1987) and the governor of several states afterward.

SURNAMES. These are a comparatively recent introduction to **Sikh** society, the result of a Western-style administration that required each person to be identified in terms of his or her father’s name. For strict members of the **Khalsa**, there should be no name following the given name of the individual, apart from **Singh** for men and **Kaur** for women. Many feel, however, that this does not differentiate people sufficiently, and third names have commonly been added by Sikh men. Usually this is their **caste** or (much more frequently) subcaste name (**Ahluvalia**, **Arora**, **Bedi**, **Grewal**, **Siddhu**, etc.). Sometimes it is the name of the village or area with which they are associated (**Jhabal**, **Kairon**, **Longowal**, etc.). For others, it is a poetic name that has been deliberately chosen (**Musafir**, **Rahi**, etc.). During the 20th century, whatever name has been selected by a male has increasingly come to be regarded as

the family surname. Outside India those men who adhere to Singh as a last name normally use it as a surname, with the result that their wives and unmarried daughters also adopt Singh.

SURODAYA. A text attributed to **Guru Nanak** that deals with magic and omens and breath control.

SVAPAN NĀṬAK. “Dream Play.” The title of a fictional work by Giani **Ditt Singh** published in April 1887 that lampooned the son of Baba **Khem Singh Bedi**, Udai Singh. The poem led to a suit filed by the aggrieved that was finally dismissed in the late 19th century.

See also LITERATURE.

SVARAG. “Heaven.” The concept of svarag, or *baikunth*, has different meanings for different **Sikhs**. For the **Gurus** recorded in the **Adi Granth**, it referred to escape from **transmigration** to the perfect serenity that climaxed the discipline of *nām simaran* in the experience of *sahaj*. As such it was a condition, not a place, and those who are well acquainted with the **Adi Granth** assimilate this meaning. The **Adi Granth** also specifies the congregation of believers (the *sādh saṅgat*) as the location of svarag, and this would be the meaning attached to it by most devout **Sikhs**. Influenced by the Muslim concept, however, many **Sikhs** evidently conceive it indistinctly as a place of ease and plenty to which the individual soul travels after death. To “go to one’s heavenly abode” is an expression frequently used when a person dies.

See also NARAK.

SVARANPANKHĪ. Generically, the term refers to any arrow with feathers (*pankhī*) that shimmer like gold (*svarn/svarṇ*). Specifically, it describes an arrow of **Guru Gobind Singh**, the tip of which was made from gold.

SWORD. The sword (together with steel in general) has been a powerful symbol for the **Khalsa**, at least since the time of **Guru Gobind Singh**. The **Guru** commanded the **Khalsa** to bear arms as a religious duty, and for them the sword became the chief weapon in the battles of the 18th century. Today it figures prominently in the *khaṇḍā* and plays a central role in *amrit sanskāṛ*. *See also* ARMY, ARMED FORCES; BHAGAUTĪ; SARAB LOH.

SYMBOLS. Like all the great religions, **Sikhism** is particularly rich in symbols, both intangible and visible. The primary symbol is **Akal Purakh**, or **Vahiguru**, and **Sikhs** will normally affirm that their faith is, like Christianity and Islam, strictly monotheistic. The mystical “voice” of Akal Purakh is the

Guru, appearing in human form as the 10 historic Gurus and embodied thereafter in the sacred scripture that becomes the **Guru Granth Sahib**. Each of the Gurus taught the supremely important **nām**, communicated through the **shabad**. The Tenth Guru constituted the **Khalsa**. Sikhs who choose to enter the Khalsa do so by the ceremony of *khanda dī pāhul*, at which they receive **amrit** and are required to wear the **Five Ks**. Other important visible symbols are the **gurdwara**, signifying sacred ground; the *nishān sāhib*, which denotes the presence of a gurdwara; and *karāh prasād*, which marks a visit to a gurdwara or presence for a devotional occasion.

T

3HO MOVEMENT. *See* SIKH DHARMA OF THE WESTERN HEMI-SPHERE.

TABI' DĀRĪ. "Subordination." A unique system of land tenure in the **Punjab** during **Sikh** rule.

TAKHAT (TAKHT). "Throne." A center of **Sikh** worldly authority as opposed to the spiritual authority of the **gurdwara**. There are five **takhats**. **Akal Takhat** in **Amritsar** is paramount, and from it decisions of the whole **Panth** (or what is represented as the whole Panth) are made. The others are **Kesgarh Sahib** at **Anandpur**, **Harimandir Sahib** in **Patna**, **Hazur Sahib** in **Nander**, and **Damdama Sahib** in southern **Punjab**. These four are all located at sites associated with **Guru Gobind Singh**, and the first three have been recognized as takhats for an indeterminate period. The status of **Damdama** was in doubt until it was definitively declared a takhat in 1966. The origins of the role and primacy of Akal Takhat seem evident, its preeminence due to the practice of the **Sarbat Khalsa** meeting before it during the later 18th century.

TAKHT SINGH (1870–1937). A prominent **Tat Khalsa** leader of the **Malwa** region. Founder of the **Sikh Kanya Mahavidyala**, a girls school in **Firozpur**. Because of the difficulties he encountered, he was termed a *zindā shahīd*.

TAKSAL. "Mint." A group or school seeking to impart a particular version of **Gurmat**. The most famous is the **Damdami Taksal**, named after the town of **Damdama**. There are many other taksals, each of which is named after the town or village in which it is found. One that along with the **Damdami Taksal** deserves special notice is the **Jawaddi Taksal** on the outskirts of **Ludhiana**. Here at **Jawaddi**, archaic styles of **Gurmat Sangit** are being resurrected under the auspices of the taksal's current head and its **Gurshabad Sangit Academy**.

TALVANDI RAI BHOI. *See* NANKANA SAHIB.

TAMAR PATAR. Generally, *tamar patar* are copper plates that were donated to **Hindu** temples by the **Rajput** rulers of the **Pahari** region of the **Punjab**. As a Pahari ruler himself, **Guru Gobind Singh** also followed this precedent, bestowing copper plates to the famous Hindu temples situated within or near the immediate region under his influence, **Anandpur** and **Paonta**. These copper plates were inscribed in **Gurmukhi** script probably by the **sevadars** or scribes of the Tenth Master. To date three of these plates are extant. Two of these three plates were granted to the Shiva mandir at Kapal Mochan near Paonta Sahib and the temple of Naina Devi near **Kesgarh**, while the third resides at Kurukshetra.

TANAKHĀH. A penance or fine imposed by a **sangat** on any member of the **Khalsa** who violates the **Rahit**. The person so convicted is known as a *tanakhāhīā*. The two words evidently acquired their present meaning during the early 18th century. *Tanakhāh* means “salary.” In an attempt to shore up their crumbling authority in the **Punjab**, the **Mughals** made grants of money to some of those who assisted them, and the Khalsa viewed such a person as a hireling. From here the word shifted to mean a **Sikh** guilty of an offense against the Rahit, and the offense came to be called a *tanakhāh*. The **rahit-namas** commonly have lengthy lists of *tanakhāhs* that merit discipline, frequently serious.

TANAKHĀHĪĀ. A **Sikh** who is convicted of a **tanakhah**.

TANAKHĀH-NĀMĀ. An early and particularly popular **rahit-nama** attributed to **Nand Lal**, though it cannot have been written by him. The name was originally *Nasīhat-nāmā*, but *Tanakhāh-nāmā* mistakenly came to be attached to it. This is the oldest of the extant **rahit-namas**, a manuscript having been discovered bearing the date S.1775 (1718–1719 C.E.). Quotations from the *Tanakhāh-nāmā* are used today in certain ritual contexts.

See also PRASHĀN-UTTAR; SĀKHĪ RAHIT KĪ.

TANSUKH LAHAURI. The prominent poet of **Guru Gobind Singh**’s **darbar** who prepared a **Braj** interpretation of the famous Indian text the *Hitopadesha* and titled it *Rājnītī Granth*, “the Book of Politics.”

See also LITERATURE.

TARA SINGH (1885–1967). A **Sikh** political leader, invariably known as Master Tara Singh because he spent his early years as a teacher. Born into a **Hindu Khatri** family, Tara Singh formally became a Sikh at the age of 17.

He participated in the **Akali** movement of the early 1920s, earning for himself a position of leadership in the **Akali Dal**. He maintained this position throughout the remainder of British rule, leading the Sikhs in the events prior to **Partition** in 1947. After independence he worked vigorously for **Punjabi Suba** (a **Punjabi**-language state), launching several *morchās* (campaigns) in support of it. Before it was attained in 1966 he was finally overthrown within the Akali Dal by **Sant Fateh Singh**. His political career had spanned more than four decades, and for most of the period his power was unchallenged. Through it all, he maintained the ideal that for Sikhs there can be no separation of politics and religion, that to be true to their faith Sikhs must necessarily fight political battles.

Master Tara Singh was also something of a Punjabi novelist, having authored as he did novels such as *Prem Lagān* and *Bābā Tegā Singh*.

See also LITERATURE; POLITICAL PARTIES, PREPARTITION; POLITICAL PARTIES, POSTPARTITION; POLITICS.

TARA SINGH NAROTAM (1822–1891). A distinguished **Nirmala** scholar. His books included a defense of the **Sanatan** position, a description of 508 major **gurdwaras**, and a learned etymological dictionary of the **Adi Granth**.

TARA SINGH OF VAN (?–1725). Killed by **Mughal** forces during the disturbed times of **Abdus Samad Khan** and **Zakariya Khan** and since regarded as a **Sikh** martyr.

TARKHAN. Carpenter; the carpenter **caste**; a member of the carpenter caste.

TARUNĀ DAL. The “young army.” When the **Sikhs** were regrouping their scattered military strength in the 1730s, a decision was evidently reached to divide the **Dal Khalsa** into two. Men under 40 should fight in the **Taruna** (or **Tarun**) **Dal**, and the rest should be organized as the **Buddha Dal** (older men’s army).

TARU SINGH (1720–1745). For sheltering fugitive **Sikhs**, he was executed by **Zakariya Khan** by having his scalp scraped. He is regarded as a martyr by Sikhs.

TAT KHĀLSĀ. “Pure **Khalsa**.” Originally the name given to a section of the **Panth** that opposed the **Sikh** leader **Banda** in the early 18th century. Since the late 19th century, however, the name describes the radical group within the **Singh Sabha** that pressed to have its exclusivist interpretation of

the Sikh faith accepted by the Panth. Within the Singh Sabha it was opposed by the conservative **Sanatan Sikhs**, who believed that **Sikhism** was merely one of the many varieties of Hindu tradition. The **Tat Khalsa** vigorously contested this, maintaining that Sikhism was an entirely separate religion. Eventually it gained ascendancy over the Sanatan Sikhs, and ever since the early 20th century its interpretation has been accepted as orthodox. Prominent members of the Tat Khalsa included **Gurmukh Singh**, **Dit Singh**, **Vir Singh**, **Kahn Singh Nabha**, and **Jodh Singh**.

See also CHIEF KHĀLSĀ DĪVĀN (CKD).

TAUSĪF O SANĀ'. "Description and Praise." The least known of all the works attributed to Bhai **Nand Lal Goya**. The *Description and Praise* is relatively lengthy and is a Persian prose panegyric in honor of the divine. A short abridged Punjabi translation appears in **Ganda Singh's** *Bhāi Nand Lāl Granthāvalī*. At the end of the *Tausīf o Sanā'* appears its most famous portion the brief poetic *Khātimah*, or "conclusion," in praise of the **Khalsa** and the **Panth**.

See also LITERATURE.

TAVĀRĪKH GURŪ KHĀLSĀ. The first sustained modern Punjabi prose history of the **Sikhs** from the time of the Sikh **Gurus** to that of the British. The work was written in installments by **Giani Gian Singh**, and completed by 1919. By the time this accomplished **Nirmala** scholar finalized the work, it was deeply suffused with the values of the modern **Singh Sabha** movement.

See also LITERATURE.

TAZKIRAH. A hagiographic anecdote or a collection of such stories concerning a **Sufi pir**. Some scholars argue that the **janam-sakhi** style is in part indebted to that of the *tazkirah*.

TAZKIRAH-'I SALĀTĪN-I CHUGTĀĪ. A Persian text by Muhammad Hadi Kamwar Khan dealing with the history of late 17th- and early 18th-century northern India, focusing in part upon disturbances initiated by **Banda**.

TEGH BAHADUR (1621–1675). Ninth **Guru**. One of the sons of the Sixth **Guru Hargobind**, born of his second wife, **Nanaki**. Tradition regards him as a retiring person, a view that receives support from works of his added later to the **Adi Granth**. In 1632 he married **Gujari** but had no children for 34 years. At the death of **Hargobind** in 1644, he moved to his mother's village of **Bakala**, near **Amritsar**, where he is said to have been chiefly occupied

with meditation. Tradition records that he became the Ninth **Guru** when his predecessor, the child **Har Krishan**, uttered the words “**Baba Bakale**” (the Baba [who is] in Bakala) just before his death in 1664. The hagiographic story of **Makhan Shah** relates how his identity was recognized from among the others who descended on Bakala, hoping to become the next Guru.

For some months he remained in Bakala but encountered opposition from his nephew **Dhir Mal** in neighboring **Kartarpur** and from another relative, the **Mina** leader Harji, in Amritsar. Leaving the plains, he shifted to **Kiratpur** at the edge of the **Shivalik Hills**, but there his presence was unwelcome to his half brother **Suraj Mal**. He moved to the neighboring village of **Makhoval**, crossing from the territory of the chief of Hindur into that of Kahlur. There a new center called Chak Nanaki (later **Anandpur**) was developed. In 1665 he departed on an extended journey to the east of India, where in **Patna** his only son, Gobind Rai (later **Gobind Singh**), was born in December 1666. The surviving **hukam-namas**, which he sent to the various **Khatri Sikh sangats** along the way, show that he was received with great enthusiasm. Returning to Chak Nanaki, he spent time touring the plains, visiting **Sikhs** who had remained faithful to him. This was the period when rival Gurus exercised considerable influence, and there was marked hostility from other contenders to the title. In 1675 he was arrested by the **Mughals** and beheaded in **Delhi**.

See also MUGHAL RELATIONS; TEGH BAHADUR'S EXECUTION.

TEGH BAHADUR'S EXECUTION. In 1675 **Guru Tegh Bahadur** was arrested in circumstances that are disputed. According to Muslim sources he was taken as a brigand. **Sikh** sources, however, vigorously resist this claim. The dominant Sikh view attributes it to the **Guru's** intercession on behalf of a group of Kashmiri **Brahmans** threatened with conversion to Islam. A minority interpretation maintains that the reason was a request put to the **Mughal** authorities by one of the Guru's rivals, **Dhir Mal**. Later in the same year, having refused the choice of Islam, he was beheaded in **Delhi**. **Gurdwara Sis Ganj** on Chandni Chauk now marks the site of his execution. Easily the most famous and most significant early statement about the execution of the Ninth Sikh Master is found in **Guru Gobind Singh's Bachitar Natak**, the fifth chapter of which briefly describes the execution and its consequences.

See also JAITA (trad. 1657–1704); RAKAB-GANJ GURDWARA.

TEJ SINGH. Appointed commander of the **Punjab** army in 1845 by **Jindan** with the intention that he would assist in destroying the power of the popular leaders of the Punjab army. With **Lal Singh** he secretly contacted the approaching British and aided them significantly in the first Anglo-Sikh war in 1845–1846.

TEJA SINGH BHASAU (1867–1933). A **Jat**, commonly known as Babu Teja Singh or Teja Singh Overseer. He was drawn into the **Singh Sabha** and the **Chief Khalsa Divan**, becoming one of the most controversial of modern **Sikh** leaders. In 1893 he founded a branch of the Singh Sabha in his village of Bhasaur (**Patiala** state) and from 1907 developed it as the **Panch Khalsa Divan**. His efforts to change certain Sikh doctrines, rituals, and the **Rahit** involved him in strenuous disputes. Brahmanical customs and **caste** were rejected, and members of other faiths were converted to his rigorous version of **Sikhism**. In 1928 he was banished from the **Panth** by order of **Akal Takhat** for the changes that he had introduced, one of which was the printing of the **Guru Granth Sahib** with the **Rag Mala** expunged.

See also BHASAU SINGH SABHA.

TEJA SINGH, PROFESSOR (1894–1958). An eminent product of the **Singh Sabha**, important in education and writing. He was by far the most active member of the panel that anonymously produced ***Shabadārath***, a four-volume text and commentary on the **Adi Granth**. In the 1930s he was the convener of the committee that considered the **Rahit** for the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee** and personally wrote much of the text of **Sikh Rahit Marayada**.

TEJA SINGH SAMUNDARI (1881–1926). A prominent **Akali** leader at the time of the **Rakab-ganj** affair and during the early 1920s. Teja Singh Samundari was a **Jat**.

TEJA SINGH SAMUNDARI HALL. The offices of the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee** situated adjacent to **Harimandir Sahib** in **Amritsar**.

TEJA SINGH, SANT (1867–1965). Sant Teja Singh was originally known as Niranjana Singh Mehta. After an early life of spurning religious obligation he was converted, together with his family, and took his new name. He also promised thereafter to be the disciple of **Sant Attar Singh Mastuana**. Well educated in the **Punjab**, he was instructed to care for the **Sikhs** living overseas. Much of his life was spent serving the Sikhs of the **United Kingdom**, the West Coast of the **United States**, and particularly British Columbia in

Canada. While there, he attended the Universities of London, Cambridge, Columbia, and Harvard. He also held several appointments in colleges and universities in India.

TEN SAVAYYĀS. A portion of **Akal Ustati**, appointed as a part of the early morning order for **nit-nem**. In the **Dasam Granth** the verses are preceded by the heading *tva-prasād savayye*, literally “By Your grace *savayyās*,” or “Invocatory Quatrains.” They are sometimes known by this name.

TERĀ JOR. “Through Your strength.” A common phrase that appears throughout compositions attributed to **Guru Gobind Singh** and found in the **Dasam Granth**.

ṬHAG. Strictly, a member of the cult of ritual murderers who strangled and robbed in the name of the goddess Kali, but used for any highwayman or violent robber. According to the **janam-sakhis**, **Nanak** converted a thag called Sajjan. The English word “thug” is a borrowing from *thag*.

THAKUR SINGH SANDHANVALIA (1837–1887). A member of an important family and the first president of the **Singh Sabha**. The **Sandhanvalias** had been extremely powerful in the **Sikh** kingdom prior to its annexation in 1849 but were stripped of much of their influence by the annexing British. Thakur Singh did not let this stand in the way of a notable career. A supporter of **Sanatan** views, he vigorously managed the affairs of the **Amritsar Singh Sabha** for 10 years. In 1885 he persuaded his cousin the ex-Maharaja **Dalip Singh** to renounce Christianity and to seek the **Punjab** throne once again. He escaped from the British to the French territory of Pondicherry and there conducted the affairs of **Dalip Singh** until his death in 1887.

ṬHĀṬH. “Tent,” “pavilion.” A large enclosure that is used for gatherings in the Nanaksar tradition at which the particular Nanaksar-style of *kīrtan* is sung and performed.

THITHĪ. This word denotes a day of the lunar cycle of the month in the Indian calendar. It is this word that is the title of three separate compositions within the **Adi Granth**, each by **Guru Nanak**, **Guru Arjan**, and **Bhagat Kabir**. The understanding that permeates all three hymns is that the sacredness of certain days should be discounted as all days are special when one remembers the *nām*.

TIĀR-BAR-TIĀR SINGH. “Full-fledged Singh.” The term used in the **Sikh Rahit Marayada** to describe a **Khalsa** Sikh who has been administered **amrit**, wears the **Five Ks**, refrains from smoking, and eats *jhaṭkā* meat.

ṬIBBĪ SĀHIB. A small sandy dune near **Muktsar** from the top of which **Guru Gobind Singh** showered arrows on the **Mughal** army attacking the *chalī mukte*.

ṬĪKĀ. A commentary upon a particular hymn that spells the **shabad** out in very straightforward language.

TĪKKE DĪ VĀR. A paean written in praise of **Guru Nanak** and **Guru Angad**, with three supplementary verses concerning **Guru Amar Das**, **Guru Ram Das**, and **Guru Arjan**. The authors were **Rai Balvand** and **Satta the Dum**. The work is included in the **Adi Granth** (pp. 966–968).

TĪRATH. A **Hindu** pilgrimage center. **Guru Nanak** taught that the only *tīrath* is within the committed person. The idea of visiting pilgrimage centers proved too strong to be eliminated, but for **Sikhs** the places were to be locations associated with one of the Gurus.

See also AMAR DAS, GURU (1479–1574); GURDWARA; PILGRIMAGE.

TISAR PANTH. “The third panth.” A reference to the **Khalsa** in 18th- and 19th-century manuscripts as the third of three panths: **Hindu**, **Muslim**, **Khal-sa**.

TOBACCO. Using tobacco is one of the four **kurahits** that **Amrit-dhari Sikhs** must swear at initiation to avoid. They should also promise not to associate with **Sikhs** who smoke. The word that is used in the earliest **rahit-nama** is *bikhiā*, “poison,” which in the **Adi Granth** means anything that befuddles the mind. This may include alcohol, drugs, or actual poison. In later **Punjabi** usage, *bikhia* increasingly meant tobacco, which had recently been brought from Europe (where it had arrived from America) by **Muslims** and was smoked by them in **hookahs**.

It is difficult to determine precisely when it acquired the specific meaning of tobacco. At the founding of the **Khalsa**, *bikhia* was proscribed for all who took initiation. A likely reason for the ban is that hookah smoking was widespread among the Muslims, who were the **Khalsa**’s enemies, and **Guru Gobind Singh** was determined that his followers should avoid practices associated with them.

There are issues with this explanation, however, as recently discovered **hukam-namas** of the Tenth Guru contain requests for certain paraphernalia associated with the hookah, probably for the sake of the Muslims who were a part of the Guru's forces. Later Sikh tradition nevertheless implies this anti-Muslim bias, which also explains the Khalsa ban on consuming meat killed in the Muslim fashion (*kuṭṭhā*). An alternative possibility is that hookahs would be too cumbersome for the fighting Khalsa to carry with them.

TOHRA, GURCHARAN SINGH. *See* GURCHARAN SINGH TOHRA (1924–2004).

TOSHĀKHĀNĀ. “Treasury.” This is the storehouse within the **Golden Temple** complex in which special items gifted to the Sikh maharaja are generally kept.

TRADITION. In **Sikh** history and religion, tradition plays an immensely important part. In this *Historical Dictionary of Sikhism*, the word “tradition” is used to mean anything that is handed down from the past and is implicitly believed but lacks adequate historical credentials. The **janam-sakhis**, for example, are widely believed, but because most parts of them lack historical proof, those parts must be labeled traditional. The terms “tradition” and “traditional” appear frequently in this dictionary. Wherever either is used the material it describes cannot be proved historically. It must have a considerable measure of doubt attached to it, and often it is clearly impossible.

TRANSCENDENCE. According to **Sikh** doctrine, **Akal Purakh** is both immanent and transcendent.

See also IMMANENCE.

TRANSMIGRATION. The term *āvā gavan*, or “coming and going,” signifies transmigration. The traditional figure for transmigration is 84 **lakhs** (8,400,000) of existences, the character of each birth being determined by the sum total of deeds in past existences. These births would not necessarily be human birth, but birth as a person would be regarded as a great privilege. It was, however, a wearisome round. The **Gurus** taught transmigration as the fate of the person who does not live according to the principles of **Gurmat**. A life of faithful *nām simaran* and worthy deeds enables a person to merge his or her *ātmā* in the supreme *Paramātmā*, thus terminating the round of death and rebirth for that person.

See also DEATH.

TREHAN. The **Khatri** subcaste to which **Guru Angad** belonged.

See also CASTE.

TRĪĀ CHARITRA. “The deeds of **women**.” The correct name is *Charitro - pākhyān*, or **Pakhyan Charitra**.

TRILOCHAN. Said to have been a Vaishya from the Sholapur area in Maharashtra and a contemporary of **Namdev**. Five works by him are included in the **Adi Granth**.

TRIPATA (TRIPTA). Wife of **Kalu** and mother of **Guru Nanak**.

TRUMPP, ERNEST (1828–1885). Ernest Trumpp was a German philologist and missionary who was twice in India (in Sindh and Peshawar) working on languages before ill health compelled him to return to Europe. There he taught Indian languages at Tübingen. In 1869 he was asked to translate the **Sikh** sacred scriptures by the India Office in London. After spending 15 months in the **Punjab**, he concluded that the **Adi Granth** was not worth translating in full (the same few ideas, he thought, being endlessly repeated) and the **Dasam Granth** not worth translating at all. Eventually, a translation of approximately one-third of the **Adi Granth** was published in 1877, together with translations of **Puratan** and **Bala janam-sakhis**, the lives of the later **Gurus**, and an account of their teachings. The translations were dull and stilted. The introductory portion of the **Adi Granth** was sometimes perceptive, but this portion was expressed in terms that were highly insulting to the Sikhs and caused great offense, which is still felt today. In the course of his research, Trumpp had, however, discovered the first known manuscript of the **Puratan janam-sakhi** tradition in the India Office Library in London. Some Sikhs persuaded Aitcheson, the lieutenant governor of the Punjab, to have it sent to **Lahore** for inspection, where it was copied by a zincographic process. This is the copy variously known as the Colebrooke, or Vilait-vali, manuscript.

TURBAN. The turban is mandatory for all male **Kesh-dhari Sikhs** except small boys who wear a **patka**. **Sikh Rahit Marayada** makes it optional for **women**, but in practice very few women wear it except for those who regard it as compulsory for both sexes. These include members of the **Akhand Kirtani Jatha** (where women wear it in the form of a *keskī*) and of the American **Sikh Dharma** movement. It also included female members of the **Bhasaur Singh Sabha**. Many **Sikhs** display particular identities by the color or shape of their turban. Members of the **Akali Dal** wear a distinctive dark blue. White is usually associated with old men, but has been adopted by members of the **Congress Party**. Supporters of **Khalistan** commonly adopt

saffron. **Bhapa Sikhs** often wear “beaked” turbans with the crest pointing forward. Patterned turbans frequently indicate that the wearer is from a Southeast Asian country. A turban with the peak off center signifies East Africa. A **Namdhari** always wears one of white homespun cloth, tied horizontally across the forehead. Some punctilious Sikhs also wear them tied this way on the grounds that it accords with older tradition. Other Sikhs wear a band, or a *keskī*, underneath the turban with a portion exposed where the two sides meet as a vertex. In Western countries the turban has sometimes been proscribed for police, military, or other uniforms, but the Sikhs have usually won the right to have the ban lifted. In the United Kingdom, they have been exempted from wearing a helmet when motorcycling or wearing a hard hat on building sites.

TURK. This is a very difficult word to understand or define in the Indian context. Sometimes it means a member of the Turkish ethnic group, but more often it means this plus a **Muslim**. At other times it means just a Muslim, frequently with hostile overtones. The meaning must be carefully extracted from the context in which it is used. The feminine is Turkani.

TŪZUK-I-JAHĀNGĪRĪ. The memoir of Emperor **Jahangir**, which is also known as the *Jahāngīr-nāmāh*, or the *Wāqī’āt-i Jahāngīrī*. In these the emperor makes reference to **Guru Arjan** and the orders that Jahangir conveyed regarding the Guru’s execution.

TVAI PRASHĀD. “Through Your grace.” A common phrase found throughout the compositions within the **Dasam Granth**.

U

UCH KĀ PĪR. “The Spiritual Master of Uch.” The identity that **Guru Gobind Singh** was made to assume, according to tradition, at the direction of **Ghani Khan and Nabi Khan**, after having left Chamkaur at the insistence of his remaining **Khalsa Sikhs**.

UDĀSĪ. Detachment, sadness. (1) Used by the **Puratan janam-sakhis** for **Nanak**’s journeys and (2) for a follower of the way attributed to **Siri Chand**, the son of Nanak. The latter meaning designates a group who regard themselves as **Sikhs**, differing from the **Khalsa** by their celibacy, asceticism, and refusal to acknowledge such practices as keeping their hair uncut. In actual fact, they were very like ascetic **Sahaj-dharis**. Never uniform in terms of organization or doctrine, the Udasis numbered more than a dozen orders by the end of Sikh rule in 1849. By this time they had more than 250 *akharās*, or centers. Each center claimed connection with a traditional *dhuān* or *bakhshīsh*. They were respected by the early **Panth**, particularly as **Gurditta** (the son of **Guru Hargobind**) evidently favored them. During the 18th century they were not targeted by the rulers as were the orthodox Khalsa, with the result that many **gurdwaras** evidently passed into their care. Certainly the **mahants** of the late 19th and early 20th centuries frequently claimed an Udasi descent, though their lifestyle was by this time very different from that of the traditional Udasis. Khalsa Sikhs became increasingly uneasy about their control of gurdwaras. The crucial turning point in relations with the Khalsa came in 1921 when the mahant of **Nankana Sahib**, who had declared himself to be an Udasi, arranged the massacre of a large group of **Akalis**.

See also ANAND GHAN; DHŪĀN; GURDWARA REFORM MOVEMENT.

UDAY SINGH (?–1705). Also known as Udai Singh or Ude Singh, Uday Singh was one of the five sons of Mani Ram, a **Rajput** who dedicated his sons to the service of **Guru Gobind Singh**. According to tradition, Uday Singh presented the Tenth Master with the hide of a tiger he had killed. Uday

Singh is also credited with killing the relentless Raja **Kesari Chand** during the first Battle of **Anandpur** in 1700. It was during the evacuation of Anandpur, while delaying the pursuing host, that Uday Singh was killed.

UDHAM SINGH (1899–1940). Sir Michael O'Dwyer, governor of **Punjab**, was held by some to be responsible for the killings at **Jallianwala Bagh**. At his trial, Udham Singh claimed that he was one of these Sikhs who vowed to kill O'Dwyer in revenge. Popular Sikh tradition places Udham Singh at Jallianwala Bagh on that infamous day (but evidence placing him there is sketchy). Much of Udham Singh's early life is unknown although it is certain that he passed his formative years at the Central Sikh Orphanage in **Amritsar**'s Putlighar area. He appears to have joined the British India army and may have been stationed for a time in Iraq. Afterward, he traveled through Europe, where he may have joined or subscribed to certain revolutionary causes, and he was incarcerated on his return to India for a time, when this was discovered. In the later 1930s, he made his way to London as he appears in a photograph taken at this time or very soon afterward at the Shepherd's Bush **Gurdwara**.

In 1940 Udham Singh shot and killed Michael O'Dwyer while the latter was giving a public talk in London's Caxton Hall. The reason ultimately given for the murder was that Sir Michael O'Dwyer was the governor of the Punjab in 1919 and excused the massacre perpetrated at Jallianwala Bagh in April of that year by General Dyer. Udham Singh apparently held O'Dwyer responsible and decided to exact vengeance for the horrific act. Immediately he was stopped while fleeing the scene, arrested, tried, and hanged. His remains were placed in an unmarked grave outside of Pentonville Prison.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Punjab government, with the crucial help of Giani **Zail Singh**, requested his mortal remains be returned to India. These ultimately were and were paraded through the Punjab with much fanfare. One assumes that the remains that the British government had conveyed to the subcontinent were actually those of the orphanage's most famous son.

UGRADHANYĀ. "He with mighty bow." A rare epithet of **Guru Gobind Singh**.

‘UMDĀTUTTAVĀRĪKH. "The Most Glorious of Histories." A massive chronicle in Persian of the reign of **Ranjit Singh** that begins with the birth of **Guru Nanak** and ends in 1849. Written by **Sohan Lal Suri**, the Persian text is divided into five sections, or *daftārs* (of which two are translated into English).

UNIONIST PARTY. The political party that dominated **Punjab** politics from 1920 until 1936, so-called because it comprised **Muslim**, **Sikh**, and **Hindu** members. The largest group consisted of the Muslims led by Fazl-i-Husain and later Sikandar Hayat Khan. Sikh members came from the **Chief Khalsa Divan** or were independents. The **Akalis** and the **Congress Party** opposed them. From 1937 until **Partition**, the Unionists maintained some strength, but the Sikh component ebbed away with increasing influence passing to **Master Tara Singh**.

UNITED KINGDOM SIKHS. When **Dalip Singh**, the dispossessed son of **Ranjit Singh**, was moved from India to England in 1854, he was probably the first **Punjabi** to settle in the United Kingdom. Later he was to become the focus of much Sikh attention, together with his Norfolk estate of Elveden. No significant movement of **migration** then took place and it was not until the 1920s that members of the **Bhatra caste** began to appear in England, supporting themselves by astrological predictions and peddling clothes and foodstuffs out of suitcases. It was only after World War II that the United Kingdom favored **Sikhs** (as well as West Indians) to do the unpleasant jobs that the English were not prepared to do. The Sikhs settled in places that centered on these tasks—Gravesend, Southall, the Midlands, Glasgow, and Leeds and Bradford in Yorkshire. Most of these immigrants were **Jats**, many of them having mortgaged land in order to raise money for fares. A third caste group was the **Ramgarhias**. A few had migrated earlier, but the main influx occurred in the 1970s, Sikhs and other Indians having been evicted from East Africa. These three castes maintain essentially separate existences in England, strictly observing marriage ties and commonly worshiping in separate **gurdwaras**. The census for 2011 revealed that the number of Sikhs in the United Kingdom was 423,000, or 0.8 percent of the total population. This figure was considerably lower than what had been expected. Many have moved to other parts of the United Kingdom. The first generation worked largely in manual trades, but the second generation has taken advantage of a British education and transferred increasingly to the professions.

UNITED STATES SIKHS. Early in the 20th century a few **Sikhs** who had migrated to British Columbia in Canada moved down the West Coast of the United States to Washington, Oregon, and California, where they earned better wages doing a variety of jobs. In addition to work in lumber, these jobs included work for railways and as gangs of mobile farm workers. Very few women were numbered in this group, the overwhelming majority being men. In 1915 a **gurdwara** was established in Stockton. Soon they aroused the hostility of white workers, who viewed them as unwelcome competition. Hardayal, a revolutionary, persuaded many of them to join the **Ghadr move-**

ment, and a large proportion of Sikhs returned to the **Punjab** to fight against the British. The few who remained, living in the Imperial Valley and including many illegal immigrants who had crossed from Mexico, were unable to buy land. They married Mexican wives (in spite of having wives back in the Punjab), spoke Spanish, and raised children they had baptized as Christians. Names such as Jesus **Singh** and Mary **Kaur** began to appear. In the 1950s, however, official policy changed and many of those who had remained in the United States sent for relatives. Sikhs began to spread over the country, though a significant number still clustered around Yuba City, where a large-scale crop of cling peaches had been developed. During the 1990s, the Sikh population grew to 180,000 and is still growing. The number of Sikhs in the United States today varies considerably from 200,000 to 500,000, the latter number being one proposed by the Sikh Coalition.

See also MIGRATION; SIKH DHARMA OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

UNTOUCHABILITY. This is, outside of India, perhaps the best-known element of the **caste** system. Since caste has no place in Sikh ideology, untouchability likewise merits little consideration, apart from the fact that it is vociferously condemned in the hymns of the **Sikh Gurus** and, too, in many of the stories from Sikh history, particularly those in which so-called untouchable Sikhs have performed extraordinary acts of *sewā*. Such condemnations notwithstanding, some Sikhs certainly do recognize the existence of untouchable Sikhs.

UPDESHAK. “Preacher.” A person appointed by **Singh Sabhas** as an itinerant preacher.

V

VADḌĀ GHALLŪGHĀRĀ. The “great carnage.” An occasion in 1762 when the Afghan army of **Ahmad Shah Abdali** caught up with a large body of **Sikhs** near **Malerkotla**, including many women and children, and killed large numbers of them. Estimates of the dead vary between 5,000 and 30,000.

See also CHHOTĀ GHALLŪGHĀRĀ.

VADḢANS KĪ VĀR. Composition by **Guru Ram Das** in the **Adi Granth** (pp. 585–594) made up of 21 *paurīs* intermingled with **shaloks** by **Guru Nanak** and **Guru Amar Das**.

VĀHIGURŪ. The term *vāh gurū* first appears in the **janam-sakhis**, where it means “Praise to the **Guru**” and is used to signal the conclusion of a *sākhī*. At this early stage it was also an appropriate expression repeated as *nām japan*. The two words eventually coalesced to form one of the characteristic names of **God**, and for **Sikhs** it is the most popular of all such names today. The term occurs at only two places in the **Adi Granth**, both of them in panegyrics to the Guru by the bards.

See also AKĀL PURAKH; GENDER OF GOD; HARI; RĀM.

VĀHIGURŪ JI KĀ KHĀLSĀ, VĀHIGURŪ JI KĪ FATEH. “Hail to the **Guru**’s **Khalsa**! Hail the **Guru**’s victory!” The greeting of the **Khalsa**, normally given only to other **Sikhs**. It may all be uttered by one person, or only the first half, with the second part being the response. **Sikhs** commonly use it as a greeting to the whole *saṅgat* when they enter a **gurdwara**. It is also uttered as an invocation before speaking in a **gurdwara** or to any gathering of **Sikhs**.

See also SALUTATIONS; SAT SRĪ AKĀL.

VAHIRIA, AVTAR SINGH. *See* AVTAR SINGH VAHIRIA (1848–?).

VAIRĀG. *See* ASCETICISM.

VAISHANAVA. A believer in **bhakti** addressed to Vishnu.

VĀJIBU'LARAZ. "The Reasonable Request." Ten answers purportedly given by **Guru Gobind Singh** to some **Sahaj-dhari Sikhs** along the lines of a **rahit-nama**. It is not authentic.

VĀK LAINĀ. *See* HUKAM LAINĀ.

VAL GUNDAN. *See* BĀL GUNDAN.

VĀṆĪ. *See* BĀNĪ.

VANJARA SIKHS. These are **Sikhs** who live mainly in central and southern India. In earlier times, Vanjaras were peddlers or traders who traveled throughout parts of central India and the Deccan. One of the earliest draft copies of the **Adi Granth** has been identified as the **Vanjara Pothi**. Perhaps the most famous Vanjara Sikh in the traditional history of the Sikhs is **Makkan Shah**, who identified **Tegh Bahadur** as the Ninth Guru.

VĀR. Normally the word *vār* applies to lengthy poems such as those composed by **Bhai Gurdas**. In the **Adi Granth**, however, it designates a series of stanzas (*paurī*), each of which is preceded by a number of couplets or subordinate stanzas called *shaloks*. With one exception, the *vārs* are all composite structures embodying selections from the work of the **Gurus** whose works are included in the **Adi Granth**. The *paurīs* of any particular *vār* are all by one Guru, but the *shaloks* can be by any of the Gurus, with a few by **bhagats**. The most famous is **Nanak's Āsā kī vār**, which has acquired a liturgical function and is sung in **gurdwaras** in the early morning.

VĀRĀN BHĀĪ GURDĀS. The 40 Punjabi *vārs* (lengthy poems) of **Bhai Gurdas**. Because of their content and the significance of their author, they are traditionally regarded as "the key to the **Guru Granth Sahib**." Some of them relate events from his own time and from the lives of the **Gurus**. Others are doctrinal, helping to explain what the Gurus actually taught. A 41st *vār* is attached to the collection, written by an 18th-century Gurdas.

See also GURDAS II; LITERATURE.

VĀR HAQĪQAT RĀI. An account in verse of the famous Sikh martyr **Haqiqat Rai** who, tradition claims, was the grandson of **Bhai Ghanhaiya**. Written in 1784 by one **Aggar Singh**, the work details the ceremonies and rituals observed in 18th-century **Punjab**.

See also LITERATURE.

VĀR MĀJH KĪ. A composition by **Guru Nanak** in the **Adi Granth** (pp. 137–150) that, under the direction of **Guru Arjan**, is meant to be sung in the same manner as a popular contemporary tune dealing with two **Rajput** brothers (Malik Murid and Chandrahara) who had stood against the forces of **Akbar**.

See also LITERATURE.

VĀR MALĀR KĪ. A hymn composed by **Guru Nanak** and appearing in the **Adi Granth** (pp. 1278–1291).

See also MUSIC.

VARṆA. “Color.” The four groups into which **castes** are conventionally organized as a hierarchy (**Brahman**, Kshatriya, Vaisha, and Shudra).

VĀR SŪHĪ KĪ. One of the compositions of **Guru Amar Das** within the **Adi Granth** (pp. 785–792).

VAZIR KHAN (?–1710). The **Mughal** subadar (governor) of **Sirhind**, who in 1704 attacked **Guru Gobind Singh** in **Anandpur** and later executed the **Guru**’s two younger sons. An agent of his may have been responsible for the assassination of the **Guru** in 1708.

See also SĀHIB-ZĀDE.

VEGETARIANISM. Opinions within the **Panth** differ strongly over vegetarianism, some arguing that passages from the **Adi Granth** can be interpreted as upholding it and others asserting that the **Gurus** granted freedom from it to their **Sikhs**. The latter add that Indian tradition, not Sikh teaching, is the source. Goat and chicken are freely consumed in **Punjab** villages, and provision in the **Rahit** for *jhatkā* meat certainly implies that the **Khalsa** at least is free to choose. Segments of the **Panth** are, however, strongly opposed to eating meat, and in the *laṅgar* only vegetarian food is served.

See also ALCOHOL.

VENTURA, JEAN BAPTISTE (1794–1858). Jean Baptiste Ventura, a former officer of Bonaparte, was employed by **Ranjit Singh** and, with other Europeans, developed the **Punjab** army into a formidable fighting force on the Western model.

VIĀKHĪĀ. “Commentary.” The extensive commentary upon a hymn within **Gurbani** that is the most widely adopted practice in **Sikh** gurdwaras. Within the **Sikh Rahit Marayada**, the works of both **Bhai Gurdas** and **Bhai Nand Lal** are referred to as both *bāṇī*, “sacred utterance,” and *viākhīā-swarūp*, “the form of commentary.”

VIKRAMI. *See* SAMMAT DATING.

VIRO, BIBI (1615–?). The daughter of **Guru Hargobind**.

VIR SINGH (1872–1957). An **Arora** of **Amritsar** and a leading intellectual of the **Singh Sabha** movement. He was the author of novels, poems, hagiography, religious history, religious biography, pamphlets, newspaper articles, and tracts, all of them bearing strong testimony to his faith. Social reform and the question of **Sikh** identity also received prominent attention. **Vir Singh** was an adherent of the **Tat Khalsa**, doing much to formulate and propagate its ideal of **Sikhism**. His father, **Charan Singh**, began the **Punjabi** newspaper *Khālsā Samāchār* in 1899, and as its editor Vir Singh maintained a high standard of Punjabi prose and religious discussion. He also promoted the **Khalsa** Tract Society, using its numerous publications to further his concern for the Sikh faith. Vir Singh still commands considerable respect for his many literary productions.

W

WAZIR KHAN. *See* VAZIR KHAN (?–1710).

WEALTH. Sikh attitudes toward wealth are in many ways summed up in the last of the tripartite formula *nām japo* (repeat the *nām*), *kirat karo* (work), *vanḍ chhako* “share your wealth.” Such sharing may be considered a form of selfless service, or *sevā*. Human beings who are considered wealthy thus have a duty to help those who are considered otherwise. Of course, poets whose compositions are included within the **Adi Granth** often refer to the illusory nature of wealth and just as regularly make abundantly clear that the only true wealth a human being can possess is that of the *nām*. By sharing one’s own personal wealth, one thus earns real wealth.

WIVES OF THE GURUS. Little is known about the wives of the **Gurus**. This slight information is characteristic of the wives of all the Gurus. Their names and origins are known, but beyond this such limited information as exists depends largely on tradition. Even tradition does not always help us. Most of the **janam-sakhis**, for example, omit the name of **Guru Nanak**’s wife. In the case of the wife of **Guru Har Rai**, the actual name is not even known. It is Kot Kalyani, Krishan Kaur, or Sulakhani. This shortage of information is particularly vexing in the case of **Sundari**. Following the death of her husband, **Guru Gobind Singh**, she disagreed with **Banda** and emerged as the leader of the **Tat Khalsa** as opposed to the **Bandai Sikhs**. Ultimately, she won all three disputes, yet very little is known about her until her death at an advanced age in 1747. This shortage of information is in fact characteristic of all **Sikh women**. Mai **Bhago** figures prominently, but others are very rare. This is not surprising. Western historiography shows the same weakness.

WOMAN. *See* GENDER; PATRIARCHY; WIVES OF THE GURUS.

WORD. *See* SHABAD (SABAD).

WORSHIP. **Sikh** worship consists largely of *kīrtan*, normally to the accompaniment of three musicians (two with hand-pumped harmoniums and one with small drums). In formal worship, *kathā* is sometimes included. The order of worship concludes with **Ardas** and the distribution of *kaṛāh prasād*. The **Adi Granth** is always present. Worship is normally followed by a meal in the *laṅgar*.

See also GURDWARA PROCEDURE.

Y

YAHIYA KHAN. Son of Nawab Zakariya Khan who became the governor of **Lahore** in 1745 and who was subsequently pitted against the **Khalsa** Sikhs. He was responsible for the **Chhota Ghallughara** in 1746 and was jailed in 1747.

YAM. The god of the dead who determines the fate after death of each individual.

See also DHARAM-RAJ.

YOGI BHAJAN (1929–2004). The name by which Harbhajan Singh Puri, founder of the **Sikh Dharma** movement (also identified by the acronym **3HO**), was always known.

See also KUNDALĪNĪ.

YUGA. The cycles through which the world must pass are divided into *yugas*, or eons. There are four such yuga, each divided into a number of “years of the gods,” with 360 ordinary human years corresponding to one “year of the gods.” (1) The **Satiyug** or **Kaliyug** is 4,800 “years of the gods” in length. During the Satiyug there is perfect piety, morality, strength, stature, longevity, and happiness. (2) In the Tretayug (3,600 “years of the gods”) there is a decline by one-quarter in all the features of the Satiyug. (3) In the Dvaparyug (2,400 “years of the gods”) there is further decline. (4) In the **Kaliyug** (1,200 “years of the gods”) the cycle reaches its nadir. People are evil with only one-fourth of righteousness remaining.

Z

ZAFAR-NĀMĀ/ZAFAR-NĀMAH. The “Letter of Victory.” Attributed to **Guru Gobind Singh** and addressed to the **Mughal** emperor **Aurangzeb**. The letter, which is in Persian verse (it is a *masnavī*), was composed after the **Guru**’s withdrawal from **Anandpur** and makes frequent references directly and obliquely to both the Iranian national epic, the early 11th-century *Shāh-nāmāh* of Abu’l Qasim Ferdausi, and to the two most famous works of Shaikh Sa’di, the 12th-century *Būstān* and *Gulistān*. After detailing the infamous deeds of the Mughals in breaking a solemn oath spoken over and written into a copy of the Quran, to allow the Guru and his **Sikhs** safe passage from Anandpur in 1704, it declares that **God** is just and that justice requires the **sword** to be drawn when order is threatened. This last statement is drawn from the most famous couplet of the text, the 22nd in today’s version, which is largely inspired by Shaikh Sa’di, a similar *bait* of which one finds in both the *Būstān* and *Gulistān*. The letter is thus descriptive and prescriptive: noting that the Guru’s own use of violence during the siege of Anandpur and the subsequent Battle of **Chamkaur** was only as a last resort and that Sikhs from this point forward must abide by such a dictum. The letter also demonstrates a strong affinity between the Tenth Guru’s experience at Anandpur and Chamkaur and that of the legendary Iranian prince, Seyavash, the latter of which is narrated within one of the most famous portions of the *Shāh-nāmāh*. Seyavash, like Guru Gobind Singh, was betrayed by the king.

The *Zafar-nāmā* is now in the **Dasam Granth** and appears within the earliest manuscripts of the Tenth Guru’s Book although it is clear from internal evidence that it was only appended to these manuscripts after their initial binding or collation. It was probably an essential part of the volume early in the 18th century although by the 19th century the epistle’s position in the Dasam Granth was certainly fixed. Sikhs generally regard it as unquestionably authentic, which is likely correct but is certainly not established beyond doubt. Although the lengthy period of transmission between the early

18th to the mid-19th century may suggest changes both in language and content, a comparison of the many 18th- and 19th-century manuscript copies of the work indicates that it was transmitted virtually unchanged.

It is worth noting that today the term *Zafar-nāmā* generally belongs to the 111-couplet letter described above; within the Dasam Granth the *Zafar-nāmā* proper is, however, composed of 12 segments: the letter, which is assumed to be the “First Story,” and 11 others which are referred to as the **Hikayats**. An analysis of all 12 suggests that the *Zafar-nāmā* has little connection to the Hikayats apart from the fact that both series of texts are in Persian and follow the same meter.

See also FATEH-NĀMĀ/FATH-NĀMAH.

ZAFAR-NĀMAH-'I RANJĪT SINGH. The Persian chronicle by Divan Amar Nath detailing the history and correspondence of **Maharaja Ranjit Singh** from 1800 to 1837.

ZAIL SINGH (1916–1994). Congress chief minister of the **Punjab**, 1972–1977; home minister in the government of India, 1980–1982; and president of India, 1982–1987. He was president when the Indian army invaded the **Golden Temple** complex in 1984 and for this reason has never been forgiven by many of his fellow **Sikhs**.

ZAKARIYA KHAN (?–1745). The son of **Abdus Samad Khan** and **Mughal** governor of **Lahore** from 1726 until his death. He was also governor of **Multan** from 1737. Zakariya Khan endeavored to confirm his hereditary title to these Mughal provinces and was pragmatic in his loyalties, siding with the Afghan **Ahmad Shah Abdali** if it was to his advantage. His policy with regard to **Khalsa Sikhs** varied, but at times was fiercely oppressive. This has been represented in subsequent Sikh accounts as a determination to exterminate them.

ZAT (JATI). Caste; endogamous caste grouping.

ZINDAGĪ-NĀMĀ/ZINDAGĪ-NĀMAH. “Book of Life.” A lengthy Persian *masnavī* attributed to Bhai **Nand Lal**. Like the *Dīvān-i Goyā*, Nand Lal adopts the sobriquet *goyā*, or “the speaker,” in this work. For this reason it is unlikely that this is among Nand Lal’s earlier works, in which the pen name he adopts is *laʿl*, “ruby,” likely playing on his actual name (*Nanda Lāl* in Sanskrit is also an epithet of Krishna, “the Beloved of Nanda [Krishna’s father]”).

See also LITERATURE.

ZINDĀ SHAHĪD. “Living martyr,” a title informally conferred by the **Panth** since the late 19th century on individuals who faced fierce opposition (but not actual death) in their attempts to achieve objectives on its behalf. The title is rarely given. Two who earned it were **Takht Singh** of Firozpur and Baba **Kharak Singh**.

ZORAWAR SINGH (1696–1705). The third son of **Guru Gobind Singh** whose mother was Mata **Jito**.

Bibliography

CONTENTS

Abbreviations	330
Introduction	331
General	334
Encyclopedias and Reference	334
Bibliographies	335
General Works	336
The Gurus	340
General	340
Guru Nanak	342
Guru Angad to Guru Har Krishan	347
Guru Tegh Bahadur	348
Guru Gobind Singh	350
History	353
General	353
The Eighteenth Century	356
Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Successors	357
Early British Interest and Administration	359
The Singh Sabha, the Gurdwara Reform Movement, and Independence, 1873–1947	360
The Period since Independence	364
Doctrine and Symbols	368
General	368
Ethics	371
Symbols, Rituals, and Customs	371
Sacred Scripture and Other Religious Literature	373
The Adi Granth: Complete English Translations	373
The Adi Granth: Japji	373
The Adi Granth: Other English Translations	375
The Adi Granth: Historical and Exegetical	378
The Dasam Granth	380
General Religious Literature	381
Analysis and Apologetics	383
Inquiry and Analysis	383
Apologetics	385

Sects and Other Religions	387
Sects	387
Sikhism and Other Religions	388
Society	390
Sikh Society	390
Sikh Politics	393
Biography and Autobiography	395
Gurdwaras and Sacred Cities	398
Art, Literature, and Music	401
The Army	403
Sikhs Outside the Punjab	404
General Abroad	404
United Kingdom	405
North America	406
Other Abroad	408
Principal Sources for Sikhism in Punjabi	409
Journals	411
Websites	412

ABBREVIATIONS

APH	Asia Publishing House
CKD	Chief Khalsa Divan
CRRID	Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development
CUP	Cambridge University Press
DGPC	Delhi Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee
DSGMC	Delhi Sikh Gurdwara Management Committee
GGSF	Guru Gobind Singh Foundation
GNDU	Guru Nanak Dev University
GNF	Guru Nanak Foundation
GPC	Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee
IIAS	Indian Institute of Advanced Study
IOL	India Office Library
LDP	Languages Department, Punjab
NBO	National Book Organisation
NBS	National Book Shop

NBSM	Niraguna Balik Satsang Mandal
NPH	National Publishing House
OUP	Oxford University Press
PWCIS	Punjab Writers Cooperative Industrial Society
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee
SGTBCT	Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur Charitable Trust
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
UBSPD	UBS Publishers' Distributors Ltd.

INTRODUCTION

A substantial majority of the works listed below may be termed “traditional”—anything that is handed down from the past and is implicitly believed but lacks adequate historical credentials. The *janam-sakhis*, for example, are widely believed, but because most parts of them lack historical proof those parts must be labeled traditional. The terms “tradition” and “traditional” appear frequently in this dictionary and refer to material that cannot be proved as having actually occurred in the past. Such substance must have a considerable measure of doubt attached to it as an adequate representation of the actual Sikh past, and often the claims of this material are clearly impossible to substantiate, but this information has nevertheless had an impact on the development of the Sikh tradition, Sikh history, and also the subjectivity of the Sikh people. It is, simply put, the stuff into which Sikhs have invested a great deal of symbolic and cultural capital; they are stories that have formed part of the fabric of Sikh cultural memory, and thus stories that have in some measure prompted Sikhs to perform acts of humble and loving piety and of rare daring and courage, evincing a spirit of community and service and faith that is truly remarkable.

Such claims notwithstanding, it is still important to select books that have historical proof behind them and are not traditional. This is not to suggest, of course, that pious Sikhs cannot tell the difference and that only critical historians have this ability. Indeed, Sikhs, as with the members of most faith communities, can easily navigate between what is critical and what lacks rigor. As an overview of the entire range of Sikh history, J. S. Grewal's Cambridge history, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, answers this need. Other works by the same author also belong to this category. Khushwant Singh's two-volume *A History of the Sikhs* also qualifies.

For works dealing with the Adi Granth and Sikh doctrine, those of Pashaura Singh and Gurinder Singh Mann are the best, both of them sound in their approach and easy to read. Pashaura Singh's volume about the Adi Granth is entitled *The Guru Granth Sahib*, and Gurinder Singh Mann's is called *The Making of Sikh Scripture*. Both have additional works and these too can be recommended.

A particularly important book that deals with the struggle between the Sanatan Sikhs and the Tat Khalsa inside the Singh Sabha movement is Harjot Oberoi's *The Construction of Religious Boundaries*. Since its publication in 1994, a number of scholars have taken issue with many of the theories underlying the text, as they too have robustly critiqued the very epistemology in which Oberoi's work is grounded. The most significant of these authors is Arvind-Pal Singh Mandair. His critique is especially noticeable in his book *Religion and the Specter of the West: Sikhism, India, Postcoloniality and the Politics of Translation* (2009). Subsequently, his captivating critique of the divide between tradition and critical history in the study of the Sikh tradition appears in his introductory text *Sikhism: A Guide for the Perplexed* (2013).

An important work dealing with the history of women in the Sikh community is Doris Jakobsh's *Relocating Gender in Sikh History*. Indeed, Jakobsh's many works, along with those of Nikki Singh, provide a singular insight into feminine dimensions of the Sikh tradition, providing fresh readings of the subtleties and undercurrents of Sikh history and religion, indeed of the very construction of Sikhness and Sikh personhood. In these the reader becomes privy to the dynamics of recording history and the obvious gender-pregnant contexts of doing so. Supplementing such discussions should thus be new and intriguing reassessments of the nature of history-writing production within the Sikh tradition, and these are to be found in the books and articles of both Professors Anne Murphy and Purnima Dhavan. Professor McLeod's books would also fall in the description of critical historical works as opposed to those of a more traditional nature. The most suitable is unfortunately out of print, *Sikhism* (Penguin, 1997). A useful alternative is *Who Is a Sikh?*

As Sikhs continue to thrive in new areas outside of India, academic works dealing with them in these spaces has increased. Within the last few decades a number of interesting books have been published dealing with this Sikh diaspora, with a particular emphasis on Sikhs in North America, the United Kingdom, and New Zealand. Quite recently, scholarship has finally turned its keen attention on the Sikh presence in countries other than these, in nations as diverse as the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Malaysia, Singapore, and Australia, to name but a few. The coedited volumes by Knut Jacobsen and Kristina Myrvold are premiere in regard to the Sikhs of Europe and so too those works by a host of other new scholars in the field, such as Laura Hirvi, who examines the Sikhs of Finland. Much of the scholarship regarding the Sikh presence in Southeast Asia is at the moment in the form of

master's and doctoral dissertations and thus awaits publication, but until such time one may consult the edited volume of A. B. Shamsul and Arunjajeet Kaur *Sikhs in Southeast Asia*. An overall guide that also speaks to the Sikh presence in East Asia is the work of Darshan Singh Tatla. To this category, it would also be beneficial to note histories and ethnographies of those Sikhs who live within India but outside of the Punjab. Both the work of Kristina Myrvold and Himadri Banerjee address this need.

Other writers whose works can be recommended are N. G. Barrier, Owen Cole, Van Dusenbury, Balwant Singh Dhillon, Louis E. Fenech, Dipankar Gupta, Mark Juergensmeyer, Rajiv A. Kapur, Anshu Malhotra, Rajit Mazumdar, Harish Puri, Christopher Shackle, Mohinder Singh, and Nikky Singh, among a growing list of others.

This bibliography is selective; it comprises only books that are in English (apart from one section entitled "Principal Sources for Sikhism in Punjabi"). It is selective because of space limitations. The focus is on books published in English during the past fifty years, but those published earlier have been included if they are (for whatever reason) important. The reader is referred to other published bibliographies for books that have been omitted, together with articles relating to Sikhism. One to consult is Rajwant Singh, *The Sikhs: Their Literature on Culture, History, Philosophy, Politics, Religion, and Traditions* (1990). For Punjabi books, the most appropriate work is *Pañjābī Pustak Kosh* (1971). Ganda Singh has published two separate volumes, *A Select Bibliography of the Sikhs and Sikhism* (1965) and *A Bibliography of the Punjab* (1966). Both volumes usefully cover books and manuscripts in all the principal languages. *The Sikhs and Their Literature* (1970), by N. Gerald Barrier, is also very useful.

Another question was how to alphabetize authors' names. In Rajwant Singh's bibliography (and in the vast majority of other works published in India), where an author's last name is Singh (e.g., Fauja Singh) or Kaur (e.g., Madanjit Kaur), he or she is included according to first name. For the two examples given, the names would be listed under *F* and *M*. Only if the individual used a third name (e.g., Surindar Singh Kohli) would that name be used as a surname and included as such in the bibliography (e.g., Kohli, Surindar Singh).

This contrasts with the Western method, which is to record in alphabetical order the last name, classifying Fauja Singh under *S* and Madanjit Kaur under *K*. The problem would not be solved by adopting this so-called Western method, for many books published in the West use the standard Indian method. This is the case with all bibliographies in books by Professor W. H. McLeod published by the Clarendon Press in Oxford or Columbia University Press in New York. It is a method generally preferred by Indian readers, and for that reason it is frequently adopted in Western countries.

Reluctantly, however, the decision was finally taken to use the standard Western form. Many users of this bibliography will want to consult particular works in Western libraries where the Western method of classification is invariably used. Being quite unused to the Indian style, they would be baffled by it. Those accustomed to the Indian method will regrettably have to make the necessary adjustment when seeking a book by a Singh or a Kaur.

GENERAL

Encyclopedias and Reference

- Bakshi, S. R., ed. *Encyclopaedia of Punjab*. 10 vols. New Delhi: Rima, 1994.
- Bhatia, H. S., and S. R. Bakshi, eds. *Encyclopaedia of Sikhism: Religion and Culture*. 6 vols. New Delhi: Deep & Deep, 1999.
- Cole, W. Owen, and Piara Singh Sambhi. *A Popular Dictionary of Sikhism*. London: Curzon, 1990.
- Dhanjal, Beryl. *Sikhism*. Dictionaries of World Religions. London: B. T. Batsford, 1987. 72 pp.
- Dilgeer, Harjinder Singh. *Encyclopaedia of Jalandhar*. Waremmé, Belgium: Sikh University Press, 2004.
- . *The Sikh Reference Book*. Edmonton: Sikh Educational Trust, 1997.
- Dogra, Ramesh Chander, and Gobind Singh Mansukhani. *Encyclopaedia of Sikh Religion and Culture*. New Delhi: Vikas, 1995.
- Grover, Verinder, ed. *The Story of Punjab Yesterday and Today*. 3 vols. New Delhi: Deep & Deep, 1995. Collected articles.
- Johar, Surinder Singh. *Handbook on Sikhism*. Delhi: Vivek, 1977.
- Kaur, Manmohan. *Encyclopaedia of India*. Vol. 18. Punjab. New Delhi: Rima, 1994.
- Kohli, Surindar Singh. *A Conceptual Encyclopaedia of the Adi Granth*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1992.
- . *Dictionary of the Guru Granth Sahib*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1996.
- . *Dictionary of Mythological References in Guru Granth Sahib*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1999.
- McLeod, W. H. *Historical Dictionary of Sikhism*. 1995. Reprint, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Ralhan, O. P., ed. *Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*. 2 vols. New Delhi: Anmol, 1997.
- Ralhan, O. P., and Suresh K. Sharma, eds. *Documents on Punjab*. 15 vols. New Delhi: Anmol, 1994.

- Sahi, Joginder Singh. *Encyclopaedia of Sikhism and Sikhs Abroad*. Faridabad: Common World, n.d.
- Shackle, C. *A Guru Nanak Glossary*. London: SOAS, University of London, 1981.
- Singh, Harbans, ed. *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*. 4 vols. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1992–1998.
- Singha, H. S. *Concise Encyclopedia of Sikhism*. New Delhi: Madhuban, 1986.
- . *Junior Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*. New Delhi: Vikas, 1985.
- Tatla, Darshan Singh, and Ian Talbot, eds. *Punjab*. Oxford: ABC-Clio, 1995.

Bibliographies

- Barnett, L. D., comp. *Printed Punjabi Books in the British Museum*. London: British Museum, 1961.
- Barrier, N. Gerald. *The Sikhs and Their Literature*. Delhi: Manohar, 1970.
- Deora, Man Singh, comp. *Guru Gobind Singh: A Literary Survey*. New Delhi: Anmol, 1989.
- Gulati, S. P., and Rajinder Singh, comps. *Bibliography of Sikh Studies*. Delhi: NBS, 1989.
- Kaur, Ganesh, comp. *Catalogue of Punjabi Printed Books Added to the India Office Library, 1902–1964*. London: IOL, 1975.
- Malik, Ikram Ali, comp. *A Bibliography of the Punjab and its Dependency (1849–1910)*. Lahore: University of the Punjab, 1968.
- Rai, Priya Muhar, comp. *Sikhism and the Sikhs: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Greenwood, 1989.
- Ramdev, Jagindar Singh, comp. *Guru Gobind Singh: A Descriptive Bibliography*. Chandigarh: Panjab University, 1967.
- Shackle, Christopher, comp. *Catalogue of Punjabi and Sindhi Manuscripts in the India Office Library*. London: IOL, 1977.
- Singh, Ganda, comp. *A Bibliography of the Punjab*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1966.
- . *A Select Bibliography of the Sikhs and Sikhism*. Amritsar: SGPC, 1965.
- Singh, Hakam, comp. *Sikh Studies: A Classified Bibliography of Printed Books in English*. Patiala: Punjab Publishing House, 1982.
- Singh, Kirpal, comp. *Guru Nanak's Japuji: A Descriptive Bibliography*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1990.
- Singh, Rajwant, comp. *The Sikhs: Their Literature on Culture, History, Philosophy, Religion, and Traditions*. Delhi: Indian Bibliographies Bureau, 1990.

- Tatla, Darshan Singh, and Eleanor M. Nesbitt, comps. *Sikhs in Britain: An Annotated Bibliography*. Coventry: Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick, 1987.
- Verma, Devinder Kumar, and Jatinder Singh, comps. *A Biobibliography of Dr. Ganda Singh*. Rajpura: Aman, 1989.

General Works

- Anand, Balwant Singh. *The Sikhs and Sikhism*. Delhi: DSGMC, 1982.
- Baird, Robert D., ed. *Religion in Modern India*. 4th rev. ed. New Delhi: Manohar, 2001.
- Banerjee, Himadri, ed. *The Khalsa and the Punjab: Studies in Sikh History to the 19th Century*. New Delhi: Tulika, 2002.
- Bedi, Harchand Singh, ed. *The Sikhs in the New Century*. Amritsar: Khalsa College, 2001.
- Besant, Annie. *Sikhism: A Convention Lecture*. 1920. Adyar: Theosophical Publishing House, 1947. 40 pp.
- Bhatia, Sardar Singh, and Anand Spencer, eds. *Sikh Tradition: A Continuing Reality*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1999.
- Bloomfield, M. *The Sikh Religion*. New York, 1912.
- Caveeshar, Sardul Singh. *Of Sikhism: An Anthology of Essays*. Edited by Harjinder Singh Mann. Burbank, CA: K. S. Caveeshar, 2000.
- Chattopadhyay, Chhanda. *Ecology, Sikh Legacy, and the Raj*. London: Minerva, 1999.
- Chopra, R. M. *Glory of Sikhism*. New Delhi: Sanbun, 2001.
- Cole, W. Owen. *Teach Yourself Sikhism*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1994.
- Cole, W. Owen, and Piara Singh Sambhi. *Sikhism*. London: Ward Lock Educational, 1973. 48 pp.
- . *The Sikhs: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978.
- Danewalia, Bhagwan Singh. *Turning Points of Sikh History: A New Testament on the Punjab*. Chandigarh: author, 2001.
- Dhillon, Dalbir Singh. *Sikhism: Origin and Development*. New Delhi: Atlantic, 1988.
- Duggal, K. S. *Philosophy and Faith of Sikhism*. Honesdale, PA: Himalayan, 1982.
- Dulai, Surjit, and Arthur Helweg, eds. *Punjab in Perspective*. East Lansing, MI: Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1991.
- Field, Dorothy. *Religion of the Sikhs*. 1914. Reprint, New Delhi: Ess Ess, 1976.
- Guilford, E. *Sikhism*. London: Lay Readers, 1915. 39 pp.

- Jain, Nirmal Kumar. *Sikh Religion and Philosophy*. Delhi: Sterling, 1979.
- Jain, S. C. *A Panorama of Sikh Religion and Philosophy*. Delhi: Bahubali, 1985.
- Jakobsh, Doris R. *Sikhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012.
- Johar, Surinder Singh. *The Sikh Religion*. Delhi: NBS, 1988.
- Juergensmeyer, Mark, and N. Gerald Barrier, eds. *Sikh Studies: Comparative Perspectives on a Changing Tradition*. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Religious Studies Series, 1979.
- Kapoor, Sukhbir Singh. *Sikhism: 1000 Questions Answered*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 2001.
- . *Sikhism: An Introduction*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 1999.
- . *The Sikh Religion and the Sikh People*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 1992.
- Kaur, Manjit [P. M. Wylam]. *Introduction to Sikh Belief*. London: Sikh Cultural Society, n.d.
- Kaur-Singh, Kanwaljit. *My Sikh Life*. Hove: Wayland, 1997. 32 pp.
- . *Sikhism*. New York: Thomson Learning, 1995.
- . *Sikhism for Today*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. 64 pp.
- Kharak Singh, ed. *Khalsa and the Twenty-first Century*. Chandigarh: Institute of Sikh Studies, 1999.
- . *The Sikh and Sikhism*. New Delhi: Atlantic, 1993.
- Khwaja, Sarfraz. *Sikhs of the Punjab, 1900–1926*. Islamabad: Modern Book Depot, 1985.
- Macauliffe, M., et al. *The Sikh Religion: A Symposium*. Calcutta: Susil Gupta, 1958. Contains contributions by M. Macauliffe, H. H. Wilson, F. Pincoff, J. Malcolm, and Kahan Singh.
- McLeod, Hew [W. H.]. *Sikhism*. London: Penguin, 1997.
- McLeod, W. H. *Exploring Sikhism: Aspects of Sikh Identity, Culture, and Thought*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- . *Sikhism*. London: Penguin, 1997.
- . *The Sikhs of the Punjab*. Auckland: Graphic Educational Publications, 1968. 32 pp.
- . *Sikhs and Sikhism*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999. Omnibus volume containing *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion*, *Early Sikh Tradition*, *The Evolution of the Sikh Community*, and *Who Is a Sikh?*
- McLeod, W. H., trans. *Textual Sources for the Study of Sikhism*. 1984. Reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- Madan, T. N. *Religion in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Mandair, Arvind-Pal Singh. *Sikhism: A Guide for the Perplexed*. London: Bloomsbury, 2013.
- Mansukhani, Gobind Singh. *Aspects of Sikhism*. New Delhi: PWCIS, 1982.
- . *Introduction to Sikhism*. New Delhi: India Book House, 1967.
- Neki, Jaswant Singh. *Spiritual Heritage of Punjab*. Amritsar: GNDU, 2000.
- Nesbitt, Eleanor. *Sikhism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: OUP, 2005.

- Nishter, Nanak Singh. *Sikhs in Present Context*. New Delhi: Sanbun, 2000.
- Noor, Harbans Singh. *Connecting the Dots in Sikh History*. Chandigarh: Institute of Sikh Studies, 2004.
- O'Connell, Joseph T., et al., eds. *Sikh History and Religion in the Twentieth Century*. 1988. Reprint, New Delhi: Manohar, 1990.
- Parry, R. E. *The Sikhs of the Punjab*. London: Drains, 1921.
- Puri, Sunita. *Advent of Sikh Religion: A Socio-Political Perspective*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1993.
- Raj, Hormise Nirmal. *Evolution of the Sikh Faith*. New Delhi: Unity, 1987.
- Sacha, Gurinder Singh. *The Sikhs and Their Way of Life*. London: Sikh Missionary Society, 1983.
- Scott, George Batley. *Religion and Short History of the Sikhs, 1469–1930*. 1930. Reprint, Patiala: LDP, 1970.
- Sekhon, Iqbal Singh. *The Punjabis: People, History, Culture, and Enterprise*. 3 vols. New Delhi: Cosmo, 2000.
- Shackle, Christopher. *The Sikhs*. Rev. ed. London: Minority Rights Group, 1986.
- Shackle, Christopher, Gurharpal Singh, and Arvind-pal Singh Mandair, eds. *Sikh Religion, Culture, and Ethnicity*. Richmond, Surry, UK: Curzon, 2001.
- . *Sikh Religion*. Detroit: Sikh Missionary Center, 1990.
- Singh, Abnashi, and Gurvinder Singh Ahuja. *An Introduction to Sikhism*. Vol. 1, *Gurbani de Rachita*. Jandiala Guru: Gaganmai Thaal International, 2002.
- . *An Introduction to Sikhism*. Vol. 2, *Amar Shaheed*. Jandiala Guru: Gaganmai Thaal International, 2003.
- . *An Introduction to Sikhism*. Vol. 3, *Mahan Yodhe*. Jandiala Guru: Gaganmai Thaal International, 2003.
- . *An Introduction to Sikhism*. Vol. 4, *Guru Nanak Dev Ji*. Jandiala Guru: Gaganmai Thaal International, 2003.
- . *An Introduction to Sikhism*. Vol. 5, *Historical Sikh Gurdwaras of Punjab*. Jandiala Guru: Gaganmai Thaal International, 2004.
- Singh, Dalip. *Sikhism: A Modern and Psychological Perspective*. New Delhi: Bahari, 1979.
- Singh, Daljeet, and Kharak Singh, eds. *Sikhism: Its Philosophy and History*. Chandigarh: Institute of Sikh Studies, 1997.
- Singh, Daljit, and Angela Smith. *The Sikh World*. London: Macdonald, 1985.
- Singh, Dharam, ed. *Sikhism and Secularism: Essays in Honour of Professor Harbans Singh*. New Delhi: Harman, 1994.
- Singh, Fauja, et al. *Sikhism*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1969.
- Singh, Ganda. *A Brief Account of the Sikh People*. Patiala: Sikh History Society, 1956. 66 pp.
- . *The Sikhs and Sikhism*. Patiala: Sikh History Society, 1959. 64 pp.

- . *The Sikhs and Their Religion*. Redwood City, CA: Sikh Foundation, 1974. Pamphlet.
- Singh, Gopal. *The Religion of the Sikhs*. Bombay: APH, 1971.
- . *The Sikhs: Their History, Religion, Culture, Ceremonies, and Literature*. Madras: Seshachalam/Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1970.
- Singh, Gurbachan. *The Sikhs*. New Delhi: Roli, 2000.
- Singh, Gurcharan. *Studies in Punjab History and Culture*. New Delhi: Enkay, 1990.
- Singh, Harbans. *Berkeley Lectures on Sikhism*. New Delhi: GNF, 1983.
- . *Heritage of the Sikhs*. 2nd ed. New Delhi: Manohar, 1983.
- Singh, Harbans [Different author]. *Degh Tegh Fateh: A Book on Socio-Economic and Religio-Political Fundamentals of Sikhism*. Chandigarh: Alam, 1987.
- Singh, Joginder. *Sikh Resurgence*. New Delhi: NBO, 1997.
- Singh, K. S., ed. *Punjab: People of India*. Vol. 37. New Delhi: Manohar, 2003.
- Singh, Khazan. *History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion*. 2 vols. Lahore: Newal Kishore, 1914.
- Singh, Khushwant. *Religion of the Sikhs*. Madras: University of Madras, 1969. 38 pp.
- . *The Sikhs*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1953.
- . *The Sikhs Today*. Rev. ed. Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1964.
- Singh, Khushwant, and Raghu Rai. *The Sikhs*. Varanasi: Lustre, 1984.
- Singh, Kirpal, and Kharak Singh. *History of the Sikhs and Their Religion*. Vol. 1. Amritsar: SGPC, 2004.
- Singh, Mohinder, ed. *History and Culture of Panjab*. New Delhi: Atlantic, 1988.
- Singh, Nikki-Guninder Kaur. *Sikhism: An Introduction*. London and New York: I. B. Taurus, 2011.
- . *Sikhism*. New York: Facts on File, 1993.
- Singh, Patwant. *The Sikhs*. New Delhi: HarperCollins, 1999.
- Singh, Raj Pal. *The Sikhs: Their Journey of Five Hundred Years*. New Delhi: Bhavana, 2003.
- Singh, Sher. *Glimpses of Sikhism and the Sikhs*. New Delhi: Metropolitan, 1982.
- Singh, Sher [Different author]. *Philosophy of Sikhism*. 1944. Reprint, Delhi: Sterling, 1966.
- Singh, Sudarshan. *Sikh Religion: Democratic Ideals and Institutions*. New Delhi: Oriental, 1979.
- Singh, Teja. *Sikhism: Its Ideals and Institutions*. Calcutta: Orient Longmans, 1951.
- Singh, Trilochan. *Historical Sikh Shrines in Delhi: Fundamental Beliefs of Sikh Religion: The Ten Masters*. Delhi: DSGMC, 1972.

- Singh, Wazir, ed. *Sikhism and Punjab's Heritage*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1990.
- Thomas, Terry. *Sikhism: The Voice of the Guru*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1978.
- Thompson, M. R. *Sikh Belief and Practice*. London: Edward Arnold, 1985.
- Thursby, Gene R. *The Sikhs*. New York: Brill, 1992.
- Webster, John C. B., ed. *Popular Religion in the Punjab Today*. Delhi: Christian Institute of Sikh Studies, Batala, 1974.

THE GURUS

General

- Ahuja, Roshan Lal, and Gurdial Singh Phul. *Our Masters: Life Sketch of Ten Gurus*. Allahabad: Vishwa Vidhyalaya, 1956.
- Anand, T. K. *Essence of Sikhism: The Lives and Teachings of the Sikh Gurus*. New Delhi: Vikas, 1996.
- Banerjee, Anil Chandra. *Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh*. Allahabad: Rajesh, 1978.
- . *The Sikh Gurus and the Sikh Religion*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1983.
- Banerjee, Indubhushan. *The Evolution of the Khalsa*. 2 vols. 1936, 1947. Reprint, Calcutta: A. Mukherjee, 1979.
- Bhattacharya, Vivek Ranjan. *Secular Thoughts of the Sikh Gurus*. Delhi: Gian, 1988.
- Dass, J. R. *Economic Thought of the Sikh Gurus*. Delhi: NBO, 1988.
- Deol, Gurdev Singh. *Social and Political Philosophy of Guru Nanak Dev and Guru Gobind Singh*. Jullundur: New Academic, 1976.
- Dhillon, Harish. *Lives and Teachings of the Sikh Gurus*. New Delhi: UBSPD, 1998.
- Duggal, Kartar Singh. *The Sikh Gurus: Their Lives and Teachings*. 1980. Reprint, New Delhi: UBSPD, 2004.
- Gandhi, Surjit Singh. *History of the Sikh Gurus: A Comprehensive Study*. Delhi: Gur Das Kapur, 1978.
- Grewal, K. S. *Understanding Sikhism*. New Delhi: Inter-India, 1991.
- Gupta, Hari Ram. *History of the Sikh Gurus*. New Delhi: Uttam Chand Kapur, 1973.
- Hansrao, Gurdev Singh. *Ideology of the Sikh Gurus*. Ropar: Hans Rao, 1990.
- Kaur, Gurdeep. *Political Ideas of the Sikh Gurus*. New Delhi: Deep & Deep, 1990.
- Khosla, D. N. *Sikh Gurus on Education*. Delhi: Adi-Jugadi, 1989.

- Macauliffe, Max Arthur. *The Sikh Religion: Its Gurus, Sacred Writings, and Authors*. 6 vols. in 3. 1909. Reprint, Delhi: S. Chand, 1985.
- Makin, Gurbachan Singh. *Philosophy of Sikh Gurus*. Chandigarh: Guru Tegh Bahadur Educational Centre, 1994.
- Nayyar, Gurbachan Singh. *The Sikhs in Ferment: Battles of the Sikh Gurus*. New Delhi: NBO, 1992.
- Raina, Amrit Kaur. *Educational Philosophy of Sikh Gurus*. Patiala: LDP.
- Ralhan, O. P., ed. *The Great Gurus of the Sikhs*. 6 vols. New Delhi: Anmol, 1997.
- Ray, Niharranjan. *The Sikh Gurus and the Sikh Society: A Study in Social Analysis*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1970.
- Singh, Attar, trans. *Travels of Guru Tegh Bahadur and Gobind Singh*. Lahore: n.p., 1876.
- Singh, Dalip. *Eight Divine Guru Jots*. Amritsar: B. Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, 2004.
- . *Sabad Guru, Surat Dhun Chela*. Amritsar: B. Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, 2003.
- Singh, Darshan. *Indian Bhakti Tradition and Sikh Gurus*. Chandigarh: Panjab Publishers, 1968.
- Singh, Ganda. *The Lives of Sikh Gurus and Basic Principles of Sikhism*. Ipoh, Malaysia: Khalsa Divan Malaya, 1962.
- Singh, Gurdev. *Punjab Politics: Socio-Political Orientations of the Sikh Gurus*. Delhi: B. R. Publications, 1986.
- Singh, Jagdish. *The Founders of Sikh Religion: Selected Episodes from the Life History of the Ten Gurus*. New Delhi: GNF, 1989.
- Singh, K. *Sikh Gurus: Brief Life Story of the Ten Sikh Gurus*. Bangkok: Sri Guru Singh Sabha, 1969.
- Singh, Kanwarjit. *Political Philosophy of the Sikh Gurus*. New Delhi: Atlantic, 1989.
- Singh, Kartar. *Sikh Gurus and Untouchability*. Amritsar: JS & JS, 1936. 40 pp.
- Singh, Kharak, and Gurtej Singh, eds. *Episodes from Lives of the Gurus: Parchian Sewadas*. Chandigarh: Institute of Sikh Studies, 1995. Punjabi text, English translation, and commentary.
- Singh, Khazan. *Miracles of the Sikh Gurus*. Sialkot: author, 1932.
- Singh, Kirpal. *Perspectives on the Sikh Gurus*. Delhi: NBS, 2000.
- Singh, Narain. *Guru Nanak and his Images*. Vol. 2. Amritsar: author, 1970.
- Singh, Puran. *The Book of the Ten Masters*. Amritsar: CKD, n.d. [1920].
- Singh, Ranbir. *Glimpses of the Divine Masters: Guru Nanak-Guru Gobind Singh, 1469–1708*. New Delhi: International Traders, 1965.
- Singh, Teja. *Religion of the Sikh Gurus*. Amritsar: SGPC, 1957. 30 pp.
- Singh, Tharam. *The Story of the Sikhs Covering the Lives of the Sikh Gurus*. Singapore: n.p., 1975.

Guru Nanak

- Agnihotri, Harbans Lal, and Chand R. Agnihotri. *Guru Nanak Dev: His Life and Bani*. Hisar: Gopal Prakashan, 1996.
- Ahuja, N. D. *The Great Guru Nanak and the Muslims*. Chandigarh: Kirti, 1971.
- Anand, Balwant Singh. *Guru Nanak: His Life Was His Message*. New Delhi: GNF, 1983.
- Bachan, Gurbachan Singh. *Guru Nanak and Ecology*. Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 2004.
- Bal, Sarjit Singh. *Life of Guru Nanak*. Chandigarh: Panjab University, 1969.
- Bal, Sarjit Singh, ed. *Guru Nanak in the Eyes of Non-Sikhs*. Chandigarh: Panjab University, 1969.
- Banerjee, Anil Chandra. *Guru Nanak and His Times*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1971.
- Bedi, P. L. *Guru Baba Nanak*. New Delhi: New Light, 1971.
- . *Prophet of the Full Moon: Guru Baba Nanak, the Founder Master of Sikhism*. New Delhi: New Light, 1976.
- Bhatia, Narinder Kaur, ed. *Janam Sakhi Guru Nanak Dev Ji by Meharban*.
- Bhatia, S. *Sant Kavi Nanak: A Harbinger of Peace and Goodwill*. New Delhi: Anoopum, 1989.
- Brar, Gurdip Kaur. *Guru Nanak's Philosophy of Politics*. Goniana Mandi: Mahant Bhai Tirath Singh "Sewapanthi" Tikana Bhai Jagta Ji Sahib, 1994.
- Chawla, Harbans Singh. *Guru Nanak: The Prophet of the People*. New Delhi: Gurdwara Sri Guru Singh Sabha, 1970.
- Cole, W. Owen. *Sikhism and Its Indian Context, 1469–1708: The Attitude of Guru Nanak and Early Sikhism to Indian Religious Beliefs and Practices*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1984.
- Dhami, Sadhu Singh. *Guru Nanak: Poet and Philosopher*. London, ON: Third Eye, 1989.
- Doabia, Harbans Singh. *Sacred Dialogue of Guru Nanak Dev Ji*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1994.
- Francis, Eric. *Guru Nanak*. Bombay: Purohit, 1970.
- Gill, Harjeet Singh. *Baba Nanak*. Delhi: Harman, 2003.
- Gill, Pritam Singh. *The Doctrine of Guru Nanak*. Jullundur: New Book, 1969.
- Grewal, D. S. *Amazing Travels of Guru Nanak*. Amritsar: SGPC, 2004.
- . *Guru Nanak's Travel to Himalayan and East Asia Region: A New Light*. Delhi: NBS, 1995.
- Grewal, J. S. *Guru Nanak and Patriarchy*. Shimla: IAS, 1993. 47 pp.
- . *Guru Nanak in History*. Chandigarh: Panjab University, 1969.
- . *Guru Nanak in Western Scholarship*. Shimla: IAS, 1992.
- Gupta, Hari Ram. *Life Sketch of Guru Nanak*. Delhi: NPH, 1968. 32 pp.

- Gupta, M. D. *Nanak the Saint*. Agra: MG, 1990.
- Guru Nanak*. New Delhi: Publications Division, Government of India, 1969.
- Iyengar, K. R. Srinivasa. *Guru Nanak: A Homage*. New Delhi: Sahitya Academy, 1973.
- Johar, Srinder Singh. *Guru Nanak: A Biography*. Jullundur: New Book, 1969. Reprinted as *Life Story of Guru Nanak*. Delhi: NBS, 2004.
- Kapur, B. L. *The Message of Shri Guru Nanak Dev in the Context of the Ancient Sanatanist Tradition*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1967.
- Kapur, Prithipal Singh, ed. *The Divine Master: Life and Teachings of Guru Nanak*. Jalandhar: ABS Publications, 1988.
- Kaur, Madanjit, ed. *Guru Nanak and His Teachings*. 2nd ed. Amritsar: GNDU, 2003.
- Kaur, Premka. *The Life and Teachings of Guru Nanak: Guru for the Aquarian Age*. San Rafael, CA: Spiritual Community, 1972.
- Kohli, Surindar Singh. *Philosophy of Guru Nanak*. Chandigarh: Panjab University, 1970.
- . *Travels of Guru Nanak*. Chandigarh: Panjab University, 1969.
- Lorenzen, David N., ed. *Bhakti Religion in North India: Community Identity and Political Action*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994.
- McLeod, W. H. *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion*. 3d ed. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Mansukhani, Gobind Singh. *Guru Nanak: World Teacher*. New Delhi: India Book House, 1968.
- . *Life of Guru Nanak*. New Delhi: GNF, 1974.
- Nayar, Kamala Elizabeth, and Jaswinder Singh Sandhu. *The Socially Involved Renunciate: Gurū Nānak's Discourse to the Nāth Yogis*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007.
- Nesbitt, Eleanor, and Gopinder Kaur. *Guru Nanak*. Norwich: Religious and Moral Education Press, 1999.
- Nijhawan, Purushottam. *Nanak: An Introduction*. Mumbai: Vakils, Feffer & Simons, 2003.
- Paul, Dharam. *Guru Nanak and Religion Today*. Amritsar: SGPC, 1969. 16 pp.
- Puri, Sunita. *Advent of Sikh Religion*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1993.
- Raghavachar, S. S., and K. B. Ramakrishna Rao, eds. *Guru Nanak: His Life and Teachings*. Mysore: University of Mysore, 1971.
- Raina, Amrit Kaur. *Educational Philosophy of Guru Nanak Dev Ji*. Chandigarh: Lok Git Prakashan, 2001.
- Sagoo, Harbans Kaur. *Guru Nanak and the Indian Society*. New Delhi: Deep & Deep, 1992.
- Sarna, J. S. *Flora and Fauna in Guru Nanak's Bani*. Gangyal, Jammu: Gujral, 1991.
- Sarna, Navtej. *The Book of Nanak*. New Delhi: Penguin, 2003.

- Seetal, Sohan Singh. *Prophet of Man: Guru Nanak*. Ludhiana: Lyall, 1968.
- Sekhon, Sant Singh, ed. *Guru Nanak Today: An Anthology*. Jandiala: Guru Gobind Singh Republic College, 1970.
- Shan, Harnam Singh. *God as Known to Guru Nanak*. Delhi: Guru Nanak Vidya Bhandar Trust, 1971.
- . *Guru Nanak's Moral Code as Reflected in His Hymns*. Chandigarh: GGSF, 1970.
- Sharma, Navtej. *The Book of Nanak*. New Delhi: Viking Penguin, 2003.
- Sharma, Vasdev. *Cosmic View of Life in Guru Nanak Bani*. Patiala: LDP, 1996.
- Singh, Ajit, and Rajinder Singh, comps. *Studies in Guru Nanak*. 3 vols. Delhi: NBS, 1984–1987.
- Singh, Balbir. *Some Aspects of Guru Nanak's Mission*. Madras: Madras University, 1971.
- Singh, Dalip. *Guru Nanak Dev and His Teachings*. Jullundur: Raj, 1969. *Guru Nanak Lectures*, 1970–1971.
- . *Life of Guru Nanak Dev Ji and His Teachings*. Chesterfield: Sikh Research and Educational Centre, 2004.
- Singh, Daljit. *Guru Nanak*. Ludhiana: Guru Nanak Mission Society, 1971.
- Singh, Darshan. *The Religion of Guru Nanak*. Ludhiana: Lyall, 1970.
- Singh, Diwan. *Guru Nanak and the Indian Mystic Tradition*. Ludhiana: Lahore Book Shop, 1981.
- Singh, Diwan. *The Revolution of Guru Nanak*. Chandigarh: People's Publishing House, 1993.
- Singh, Fauja, and A. C. Arora, eds. *Papers on Guru Nanak*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1970.
- Singh, Fauja, and Kirpal Singh. *Atlas: Travels of Guru Nanak*. 1976. Patiala: Punjabi University, 2004. English and Punjabi.
- Singh, G. *Divine Master: Life and Teachings of Guru Nanak*. New Delhi: Gian, 1989.
- Singh, G. N., ed. *Guru Nanak: Life and Times*. New Delhi: GNF.
- Singh, Ganda. *Guru Nanak: His Life and Teachings*. Singapore: Sikh Missionary Tract Society, 1940.
- Singh, Ganda, ed. *Sources on the Life and Teachings of Guru Nanak*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1969. *Guru Nanak's Birth Quincentenary volume of The Panjab Past and Present*, vol. 3.
- Singh, Gopal. *Guru Nanak*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, 1967.
- Singh, Gurmit. *Guru Nanak's Relationship with the Lodis and the Mughals*. New Delhi: Atlantic, 1987.
- . *The Versatile Guru Nanak*. Sirsa: Usha Institute of Religious Studies, 1972.
- Singh, Gurmukh Nihal, ed. *Guru Nanak: His Life, Time, and Teachings*. Delhi: NPH, 1969.

- Singh, Harbans. *Guru Nanak*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1979.
- . *Guru Nanak and the Origins of the Sikh Faith*. Bombay: APH, 1969.
- Singh, Harbans, ed. *Perspectives on Guru Nanak*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1975.
- Singh, Harnam. *Guru Nanak's Philosophy of Divine Life*. Chandigarh: Juneja, 1969.
- Singh, Inderpal, and Madanjit Kaur, eds. *Guru Nanak: A Global Vision*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1997.
- Singh, Ishar. *Nanakism: A New World Order: Temporal and Spiritual*. New Delhi: Ranjit, 1976.
- . *The Philosophy of Guru Nanak: A Comparative Study*. Enl. ed. 2 vols. Delhi: Atlantic, 1969.
- Singh, Jodh. *Guru Nanak Lectures*. Madras: Madras University, 1969.
- . *Teachings of Guru Nanak*. Delhi: NPH, 1969. 26 pp.
- . *The Religious Philosophy of Guru Nanak: A Comparative Study with Special Reference to Siddha Gosti*. Varanasi: Sikh Philosophical Society, 1983.
- Singh, Jogendra, and Daljit Singh. *The Great Humanist Guru Nanak*. Patiala: LDP, 1970.
- Singh, K. *Nanak My Master: Gleanings from the Life of Guru Nanak Dev*. Bangkok: Guru Singh Sabha, 1969.
- Singh, Kapur. *Guru Nanak's Life and Thought: Selected Works of Sirdar Kapur Singh*. Edited by Madanjit Kaur and Piar Singh. Amritsar: GNDU, 1991.
- Singh, Kartar. *Life of Guru Nanak Dev*. 1937. Rev. ed., *Guru Nanak: Life and Teachings*. Ludhiana: Lahore Book Shop, 1958.
- Singh, Khushdeva. *At the Feet of Guru Nanak*. Patiala: Guru Nanak Foundation Committee, 1969. 41 pp.
- Singh, Kirpal. *Janamsakhi Tradition: An Analytical Study*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 2004.
- Singh, Kuldeep. *Guru Nanak and His Mission*. Sant Isher Singh Rarewala Educational Trust, 2003.
- Singh, Mrigendra. *Miraculous Guru Nanak*. New York: Robert Spencer, 1977.
- Singh, Narain. *Guru Nanak and His Images*. Vol. 1. Amritsar: author, n.d.
- . *Guru Nanak Re-interpreted*. Amritsar: author, 1965.
- . *Guru Nanak's View of Life*. Amritsar: author, 1969.
- Singh, Ravinder G. B. *Indian Philosophical Tradition and Guru Nanak*. Patiala: Punjab Publishing House, 1983.
- Singh, Roopinder. *Guru Nanak: His Life and Teachings*. New Delhi: Rupa, 2004.
- Singh, Sahib, and Dalip Singh. *Guru Nanak Dev and His Teachings*. Jullundur: Raj, 1969.

- . *Life of Sri Guru Nanak Dev Jee*. New Delhi: Sanbun, 2002.
- Singh, Sewaram. *The Divine Master*. Lahore: Gulab Singh, 1930.
- Singh, Shamsheer, and Narendra Singh Viridi. *Life of Guru Nanak through Pictures*. Amritsar: Modern Sahitya Academy, 1969.
- Singh, Shanta Serbjeet. *Nanak the Guru*. New Delhi: Orient Longmans, 1970.
- Singh, Sohan. *Guru Nanak: A Brief Biography*. Ludhiana: Lyall, 1968.
- Singh, Sutantar, ed. *Guru Nanak: Founder of the Sikh Faith (a Portrait)*. Ottawa: Sikh Institute of Canada, 1994.
- Singh, Taran. *Guru Nanak: His Mind and Art*. New Delhi: Bahri, 1992.
- . *Teachings of Guru Nanak Dev*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1977.
- Singh, Taran, ed. *Guru Nanak and Indian Religious Thought*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1970.
- Singh, Trilochan. *Guru Nanak: Founder of Sikhism: A Biography*. Delhi: GPC, 1969.
- . *Guru Nanak's Religion*. Delhi: Rajkamal, 1969.
- . *True Humanism of Guru Nanak*. Delhi: DGPC, 1968.
- Singh, Ujagar. *The Story of Guru Nanak*. Translated by M. C. Sharma. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1970. 38 pp.
- Singh, Wazir. *Aspects of Guru Nanak's Philosophy*. Ludhiana: Lahore Book Shop, 1969.
- . *Humanism of Guru Nanak: A Philosophic Inquiry*. Delhi: Ess Ess, 1977.
- Sodhi, T. S. *Educational Concepts of Guru Nanak in Sidh Goshti*. Ludhiana: Mukand, 1981.
- . *Educational Philosophy of Guru Nanak*. Patiala: Bawa, 1993.
- Suddhasatwananda, Swami. *Thus Spake Guru Nanak*. Mylapore: Sri Rama Krishna Math, 1963.
- Surma, M. S. *Guru Nanak: The Apostle of Love*. Amritsar: Jawahar Singh Kirpal Singh, 1971.
- Talib, Gurbachan Singh. *Guru Nanak*. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1984.
- . *Guru Nanak: His Personality and Vision*. Delhi: Gur Das Kapur, 1969.
- . *Moral Core of Guru Nanak's Teachings*. Chandigarh: Panjab University, 1975–1976. 38 pp.
- Talib, Gurbachan Singh, ed. *Guru Nanak Commemorative Volume*. Patiala: Punjabi University.
- Tewari, V. N. *Life of Guru Nanak*. New Delhi: National Council of Educational Research and Training, 1990.
- Tiwari, Vishwa Nath. *Na ko Hindu na Musalman*. Translated by Bal Krishna. Chandigarh: Panjab University, 1973.
- Vaidya, G. M. *Guru Nanak*. Poona: Vidarbha Marathwada, 1965.
- Vaswani, T. L. *Guru Nanak*. Poona: Gita, 1970.

Guru Angad to Guru Har Krishan

- Agnihotri, H. L., and Chand R. Agnihotri. *Guru Hargobindji: His Life and Times*. Hisar: Gopal Prakashan, 1995.
- Agnihotri, Harbans Lal, and Chand R. Agnihotri. *Creative Harmony: Life and Bani of Guru Ram Das Ji*. Hisar: Gopal Prakashan, 2002.
- . *Gathering Storm: Guru Har Rai and His Times*. Hisar: Gopal Prakashan, 2002.
- . *Guru Arjun Dev: The Poet-Prophet*. Hisar: Gopal Prakashan, 1996.
- . *The Liberated Soul: The Life and Bani of Guru Angad Dev*. Hisar: Gopal Prakashan, 2002.
- . *The Life Divine: Life of Guru Har Krishan*. Hisar: Gopal Prakashan, 2002.
- Bains, Raghbir Singh, and Roop Singh, *The Life Story of Guru Angad Dev Ji*. Delhi: Baba Sewa Singh Ji, 2004.
- Cheema, Baljinder Singh. *Guru Hargobind: Vision and Personality*. New Delhi: Harman, 2000.
- Dhillon, Balwant Singh, ed. *Shri Guru Amar Das Abhinandan*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1985.
- Jaggi, Rattan Singh, ed. *Perspectives on Guru Amar Das, Third Sikh Master*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1997.
- Jaspal, Partap Singh. *Eternal Glory of Guru Arjan*. New Delhi: Reliance, 1993.
- Kapoor, S. S. *Guru Angad Dev: Life, History, and Teachings*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 1997.
- Kaur, Balbir. *Guru Amar Das*. New Delhi: Makhan Singh, 1979. 44 pp.
- Khalsa, Gurudharm Singh. *Guru Ram Das in Sikh Tradition*. New Delhi: Harman, 1997.
- Mansukhani, Gobind Singh. *Guru Ramdas: His Life, Work, and Philosophy*. New Delhi: Oxford & IBH, 1979.
- Nara, Ishar Singh. *Light of Guru Ram Dass Ji*. Translated by Harnam Singh. New Delhi: author, 1986.
- Nayyar, G. S. *Guru Hargobind in Sikh Tradition*. New Delhi: NBO, 1998.
- Neki, Jaswant Singh. *Prophet of Devotion: Life and Teachings of Sri Guru Angad Dev*. Amritsar: Satvic Media, 2004.
- Pall, S. J. S. *Bhai Gurdas: The First Sikh Scholar*. Amritsar: B. Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, 2002.
- Peace, M. L. *Guru Amar Das*. Ferozepore: D. S. Bhalla, 1960.
- . *Shri Guru Arjan Dev*. Ferozepore: D. S. Bhalla, 1961.
- Singh, Fauja. *Guru Amar Das: Life and Teachings*. New Delhi: Sterling, 1979.
- Singh, Fauja, and Rattan Singh Jaggi, eds. *Perspectives on Guru Amar Das*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1982.

- Singh, Ganda. *Guru Arjan's Martyrdom Re-interpreted*. Patiala: Guru Nanak Mission, 1969.
- Singh, Jodh. *Life of Guru Amar Dass Ji*. Ludhiana: Lahore Book Shop, 1953.
- . *Spirituo-Ethical Philosophy of Guru Angad Dev*. Patiala: Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, 2004.
- Singh, Kapur. *Guru Arjun and His Sukhmani*. Edited by Madanjit Kaur and Piar Singh. Amritsar: GNDU, 1992.
- Singh, Narain. *The Holy Guru Arjan*. Amritsar: author, 1967.
- . *The Life Sketch of Guru Amar Dass Ji*. Amritsar: Bhagat Puran Singh, n.d.
- Singh, Pashaura. *Life and Work of Guru Arjan*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Singh, Ranjit. *Guru Amar Das Ji: A Biography*. Amritsar: Nanak Singh Pustakmala, 1980.
- Singh, Taran. *Guru Amar Das: The Apostle of Bliss*. London: Federation of Sikh Organisations, 1979.
- Singh, Teja. *Martyrdom of Guru Arjan Dev and Essentials of Sikhism*. Amritsar: B. Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, 2004.
- Singh, Trilochan. *Life of Guru Hari Krishan: A Biography and History*. Delhi: DSGMC, 1981.
- Singh, Wazir. *Guru Arjan Dev*. Delhi: National Book Trust, 1991.
- Sodhi, Brijindra Singh. *Shri Guru Arjan Dev: The Poet and the Organiser*. Amritsar: author, 1936.

Guru Tegh Bahadur

- Agnihotri, Harbans Lal, and Chand R. Agnihotri. *Guru Tegh Bahadur Hindi-Chadar*. Hisar: Gopal Prakashan, 1996.
- Ahuja, Anand Mohan. *Significance of Guru Tegh Bahadur's Martyrdom: A True Perspective*. Chandigarh: Kirti, 1975. 27 pp.
- Anand, Balwant Singh. *Guru Tegh Bahadur: A Biography*. New Delhi: Sterling, 1979.
- Anand, G. S. *Guru Tegh Bahadur*. Agra: Agra University, 1970.
- Baagha, Ajit Singh. *Palprsnawali or Guru Tegh Bahadur's Mission in Historical Perspective*. Amritsar: Faqir Singh, 1975.
- Chawla, Surjeet Singh. *Martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahadur: Message for Mankind*. Gurgaon: Harmony, 1991.
- Dhawan, S. K. *Guru Tegh Bahadur: The Ninth Guru: A Chronology*. Delhi: Deepalika, 1976.
- Doabia, Harbans Singh. *Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur Sahib: Life History, Sacred Hymns, and Teachings*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1975.

- Gill, Pritam Singh. *Guru Tegh Bahadur: The Unique Martyr*. Jullundur: New Academic, 1975.
- Grewal, J. S. *Guru Tegh Bahadur and the Persian Chroniclers*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1976.
- Gupta, B. S. *Guru Tegh Bahadur: A Study*. Chandigarh: Panjab University, 1978.
- Guru Tegh Bahadur: A Brief Account of His Life and Teachings*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1975. 24 pp.
- Jaspal, Partap Singh. *Eternal Glory of Guru Tegh Bahadur*. New Delhi: Reliance, 1993.
- Johar, Surinder Singh. *Guru Tegh Bahadur: A Biography*. New Delhi: Abhinav, 1975.
- . *Guru Tegh Bahadur: Defender of the Faith*. New Delhi: Enkay, 1994.
- . *Life Story of Guru Tegh Bahadur*. Delhi: National Book Shop, 2004.
- Kohli, Mohinder Pal. *Guru Tegh Bahadur*. New Delhi: Sahitya Academy, 1992.
- Kohli, Surindar Singh. *Guru Tegh Bahadur*. Delhi: NBS, 2001.
- . *Sword and the Spirit: An Introduction to Guru Tegh Bahadur's Life and Philosophy*. New Delhi: Ankur, 1977.
- Rani, Phulan. *Life of Guru Tegh Bahadur through Picture*. Annotated by Shamsheer Singh and Narendra Singh Viridi. Amritsar: Modern Sahit Academy, n.d.
- Sagar, Sabinderjit Singh. *Hukamnamas of Guru Tegh Bahadur: A Historical Study*. Amritsar: GNDU, 2002.
- Singh, Dalip. *Guru Tegh Bahadur*. New Delhi: Young Sikh Cultural Association, 1975. pp. 32.
- Singh, Daljit. *Guru Tegh Bahadur*. Patiala: LDP, 1971.
- Singh, Darshan. *The Ninth Nanak: A Historical Biography*. Jullundur: K. Lal, 1975.
- Singh, Fauja, and Gurbachan Singh Talib. *Guru Tegh Bahadur: Martyr and Teacher*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1975.
- Singh, Ganda. *Martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahadur*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1976.
- Singh, Ganda, ed. *Guru Tegh Bahadur Commemoration Volume*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1975.
- Singh, Harbans. *Guru Tegh Bahadur*. New Delhi: Sterling, 1982.
- . *Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur Sahib: Life History, Sacred Hymns, and Teachings*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1975.
- Singh, Jagdish. *Guru Tegh Bahadur: An Illustrated Biography*. New Delhi: Punjab & Sind Bank, 1976. pp. 44.
- Singh, Ram. *Tegh Bahadur: His Life, Teachings, and Martyrdom*. Ambala Cantt: Joshi, 1970.

- Singh, Ranbir. *Guru Tegh Bahadur: Divine Poet, Saviour, and Martyr*. Amritsar: CKD, 1975.
- Singh, Satbir, ed. *Guru Tegh Bahadur: Commemorative Volume*. Amritsar: Guru Tegh Bahadur Tercentenary Committee, 1975.
- Singh, Trilochan. *Brief Life of Guru Tegh Bahadur*. Delhi: Sikh Gurdwara Board, 1974.
- . *Guru Tegh Bahadur: Prophet and Martyr*. Delhi: GPC, 1967.
- Talib, Gurbachan Singh, ed. *Guru Tegh Bahadur: Background and the Supreme Sacrifice*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1976.

Guru Gobind Singh

- Agnihotri, H. L., and Chand R. Agnihotri. *Guru Gobind Singh: His Life and Bani*. Hisar: Gopal Prakshan, 1996.
- Ahluwalia, Rajendra Singh. *The Founder of the Khalsa*. Chandigarh: GGSF, 1966.
- Banerjee, Himadri, ed. *The Khalsa and the Punjab: Studies in Sikh History to the 19th Century*. New Delhi: Tulika, 2002.
- Brar, Ude Singh. *Dushman Afgan Josh: Guru Gobind Singh*. New Delhi: Minerva, 2001.
- Chatterjee, Debendranath. *Guru Gobind Singh*. Chandernagar: Chatterjee, 1950.
- Chatterji, Suniti Kumar. *Guru Gobind Singh, 1666–1708*. Chandigarh: Panjab University, 1967. 40 pp.
- Data, Piara Singh. *The Saint Soldier Guru Gobind Singh*. Delhi: NBS, 2004.
- Deane, S. F. *Saint Warrior Guru Gobind Singh*. Ambala Cantt: Dass Brothers, n.d.
- Dhillon, Dalbir Singh, and Shangana Singh Bhullar. *Battles of Guru Gobind Singh*. New Delhi: Deep & Deep, 1990.
- Doabia, Harbans Singh. *Life Story of Siri Satguru Gobind Singh Ji Maharaj and Some of His Hymns*. Chandigarh: author, 1974.
- Fenech, Louis E. *The Darbar of the Sikh Gurus: The Court of God in the World of Men*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Fenech, Louis E. *The Sikh Zafar-namah of Guru Gobind Singh: A Discursive Blade in the Heart of the Mughal Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Gajrani, Shiv. *Guru Gobind Singh: Personality and Vision*. Patiala: Vision & Venture, 2000.
- Gandhi, Surjit Singh. *A Historian's Approach to Guru Gobind Singh*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 2004.
- Gill, Danielle, and Harjeet Singh Gill. *Machhiwara: Meditations of Guru Gobind Singh*. New Delhi: Harman, 2004.

- Gill, Kulwant Singh. *Saint-Soldier Supreme Guru Gobind Singh*. Amritsar: SGPC, 1999.
- Grewal, J. S., ed. *The Khalsa: Sikh and Non-Sikh Perspectives*. New Delhi: Manohar, 2004.
- Grewal, J. S., and S. S. Bal. *Guru Gobind Singh: A Biographical Study*. 2nd ed. Chandigarh: Panjab University, 1987.
- Gulati, S. P., ed. *Guru Gobind Singh: Life and Achievement*. Delhi: NBS, 1999.
- Jaspal, Partap Singh. *Eternal Glory of Guru Gobind Singh and the Khalsa*. New Delhi: Reliance, 1994.
- Johar, Surinder Singh. *Birth of the Khalsa*. Delhi: Ajanta, 2001.
- . *Guru Gobind Singh: A Biography*. Delhi: Sterling, 1967.
- . *Guru Gobind Singh: A Multi-Faceted Personality*. New Delhi: M. D. Publications, 1999.
- . *Guru Gobind Singh: A Study*. New Delhi: Marwah, 1979.
- . *Guru Gobind Singh: An Undying Spirit*. Delhi: Arsee, 1999.
- Kapoor, Satish K., ed. *The Khalsa: Substratum, Substance, and Significance*. Jalandhar: Centre of Historical Studies, Lyallpur Khalsa College, 2001.
- Kapur, Prithipal Singh, and Dharam Singh. *The Khalsa*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1999.
- Kaur, Gurnam, ed. *Khalsa: A Thematic Perspective*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 2001.
- Kaur, Madanjit, ed. *Guru Gobind Singh and the Creation of the Khalsa*. Amritsar: GNDU, 2000.
- Kaur, Madanajit. *Guru Gobind Singh: Historical and Ideological Perspective*. Chandigarh: Unistar Books, 2007.
- Kohli, Surindar Singh. *Life and Ideals of Guru Gobind Singh*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1986.
- . *The Sikh and the Khalsa*. Delhi: NBS, 2001.
- Lakshman Singh, Bhagat. *Short Sketch of the Life and Works of Guru Gobind Singh*. Amritsar: B. Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, 2003.
- Mansukhani, Gobind Singh. *Guru Gobind Singh*. Delhi: Hemkunt, 1976.
- Mansukhani, Gobind Singh, and Dharamjit Singh. *Guru Gobind Singh: Cosmic Hero*. New Delhi: India Book House, 1967.
- Mansukhani, Gobind Singh, and Surindar Singh Kohli. *Guru Gobind Singh: His Personality and Achievement*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 1976.
- Nara, Ishar Singh. *Safarnama and Zafarnama: Being an Account of the Travels of Guru Gobind Singh and the Epistle of Moral Victory Written by Him to Emperor Aurangzeb*. Abridged and translated by Joginder Singh. New Delhi: Nara, 1985.
- Rai, Daulat. *Sahibe Kamal Guru Gobind Singh*. Abridged and translated by Surinderjit Singh. Amritsar: Gurmat Sahit Charitable Trust, 1988. Written in 1901.

- Raju, Karam Singh. *Guru Gobind Singh: Prophet of Peace*. Chandigarh: Ratan, 1999.
- Rama, Swami. *Celestial Song/Gobind Geet: The Dynamic Dialogue Between Guru Gobind Singh and Banda Singh Bahadur*. Honesdale, PA: Himalayan, 1986.
- Ravi Batra. *Leadership in Its Finest Mould: Guru Gobind Singh*. Amritsar: SGPC, 1979.
- Safeer, Pritam Singh. *The Tenth Master*. New Delhi: GNF, 1983.
- Seetal, Sohan Singh. *Prophet of Man: Guru Gobind Singh*. Ludhiana: Lyall, 1968.
- Sewak, S. H. *Guru Gobind Singh: Apostle of Universal Brotherhood*. New Delhi: NBS, 1999.
- Singh, Dalip. *Guru Gobind Singh and Khalsa Discipline*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1992.
- . *Life Story of Guru Gobind Singh*. Amritsar: B. Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, 2002.
- Singh, Dharam. *Dynamics of the Social Thought of Guru Gobind Singh*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1998.
- Singh, Fauja, ed. *Travels of Guru Gobind Singh*. Maps by Mehar Singh Gill. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1968. In English and Punjabi.
- Singh, Ganda. *Guru Gobind Singh's Death at Nanded: An Examination of Succession Theories*. Faridkot: GNF, 1972. 25 pp.
- Singh, Gopal. *Guru Govind Singh*. 2nd ed. New Delhi: Sterling, 1979.
- . *Prophet of Hope: The Life of Guru Gobind Singh*. Delhi: Sterling, 1967.
- Singh, Harbans. *Guru Gobind Singh*. Chandigarh: GGSF, 1966.
- Singh, Jagjit K. *Guru Gobind Singh: A Study*. Bombay: Pritpal Kaur, 1967.
- Singh, Kartar. *Guru Gobind Singh and the Mughals*. Chandigarh: GGSF, 1967.
- . *Life of Guru Gobind Singh*. 2nd ed. Ludhiana: Lahore Book Shop, 1951.
- Singh, Khushwant, and Suneet Vir Singh. *Homage to Guru Gobind Singh*. Bombay: Jaico, 1970.
- Singh, Nahar, and Kirpal Singh. *Two Swords of Guru Gobind Singh in England (1666–1708 AD)*. New Delhi: Atlantic, 1989.
- Singh, Narain. *Guru Gobind Singh Re-told*. Amritsar: author, 1966.
- . *Guru Gobind Singh: The Warrior-Saint*. Chandigarh: GGSF, 1967. 42 pp.
- Singh, Parkash, ed. *The Saint-Warrior Guru Gobind Singh*. Amritsar: Khalsa College, 1967.
- Singh, Puran. *Guru Gobind Singh: Reflection and Offerings*. Chandigarh: GGSF, 1966.

- . *Life and Teachings of Guru Gobind Singh*. Amritsar: Khalsa Agency, n.d.
- . *The Tenth Master*. Ludhiana: Sahitya Sangam, 1960.
- Singh, Sahib. *Guru Gobind Singh*. Jullundur: Raj, 1967.
- Singh, Satbir, ed. *Guru Gobind Singh 300th Birthday Souvenir*. Patna: Takht Harimandirji, 1967.
- Singh, Sher. *Social and Political Philosophy of Guru Gobind Singh*. Delhi: Sterling, 1967.
- . *Sri Guru Gobind Singh Ji, Being Some Unwritten Leaves in the Life of the Guru*. Amritsar: Jaidev Singh Jogindar Singh, 1933.
- Singh, Trilochan. *Guru Gobind Singh: A Brief Life Sketch*. Delhi: GPC, 1964. 35 pp.
- Singh, Trilochan, and Anurag Singh. *Life Story of Guru Gobind Singh*. Amritsar: B. Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, 2002.
- Talib, Gurbachan Singh. *The Impact of Guru Gobind Singh on Indian Society*. Chandigarh: GGSF, 1966.
- . *The Tenth Master: Tributes on Tercentenary*. Chandigarh: GGSF, 1967.
- Uppal, S. S., ed. *Guru Gobind Singh: The Saviour*. New Delhi: SGTB Khalsa College, 1969.
- Verma, D. K. *Guru Gobind Singh on the Canvas of History*. New Delhi: Harman, 1995.

HISTORY

General

- Ahluwalia, M. L. *Landmarks in Sikh History, 1699–1947*. New Delhi: Ashoka, 1996.
- Azad, Mohammad Akram Lari. *Religion and Politics in India during the Seventeenth Century*. New Delhi: Criterion, 1990.
- Bal, S. S. *A Brief History of the Modern Punjab*. Ludhiana: Lyall, 1974.
- Banga, Indu, ed. *Five Punjabi Centuries: Politics, Economy, Society and Culture, c. 1500–1990. Essays for J. S. Grewal*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1997.
- Birdwood, C. B. *India's Freedom Struggle: Role of Muslims and the Sikhs*. Delhi: Discovery, 1988.
- Chhabra, G. S. *Advanced History of the Punjab*. 2nd ed. Vol. 1. Jullundur: New Academic, 1968. Vol. 2. Ludhiana: Parkash, 1965.
- Court, Henry. *History of the Sikhs*. Translation of *Sikhan de raj di vikhia [sic. vithia]*. Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette, 1888.
- Data, Piara Singh. *The Sikh Empire (1708–1849 A.D.)*. Delhi: NBS, 1986.

- Dewey, Clive. *The Settlement Literature of the Greater Punjab: A Handbook*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1991.
- Dhillon, G. S. *Insights into Sikh Religion and History*. Chandigarh: Singh & Singh, 1992.
- . *Perspectives on Sikh Religion and History*. New Delhi: NBO, 1996.
- . *Researches in Sikh Religion and History*. Chandigarh: Sumet Prakashan, 1989.
- Dhillon, Sukhwinder Kaur. *Religious History of Early Medieval Punjab*. New Delhi: NBO, 1991.
- Dilgeer, Harjinder Singh, and Awatar Singh Sekhon. *The Sikhs' Struggle for Sovereignty: An Historical Perspective*. Edited by A. T. Kerr. Edmonton: Sikh Educational Trust, 1992.
- George, W. L. M. *History of the Sikhs*. Allahabad: R. S. Publications, 1979.
- Gill, Pritam Singh. *History of Sikh Nation: Foundation, Assassination, Resurrection*. Jullundur: New Academic, 1978.
- Gill, Tarlochan Singh. *History of the Sikhs*. Delhi: NBS, 1996.
- Grewal, Gurdial Singh. *Freedom Struggle of India by Sikhs and Sikhs in India*. Ludhiana: Sant Isher Singh Rarewala Education Trust, 1993.
- Grewal, J. S. *The Akalis: A Short History*. Chandigarh: Punjab Studies Publications, 1996.
- . *From Guru Nanak to Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Essays in Sikh History*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1972. Rev. ed., 1982.
- . *Miscellaneous Articles*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1974.
- . *Sikh Ideology, Polity, and Social Order*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1996.
- . *The Sikhs of the Punjab*. New Cambridge History of India, vol. 2–3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- . *Social and Cultural History of the Punjab*. New Delhi: Manohar, 2004.
- . *History, Literature, And Identity; Four Centuries of Sikh Tradition*. New Delhi: OUP, 2007.
- Grewal, J. S., ed. *Studies in Local and Regional History*. Amritsar: Guru Nanak University, 1974.
- Grewal, J. S., and Indu Banga, eds. *The Khalsa over 300 Years*. New Delhi: Tulika for Indian History Congress, 1999.
- Grewal, J. S., and Irfan Habib, eds. *Sikh History from Persian Sources*. New Delhi: Tulika for Indian History Congress, 2001.
- Gupta, Hari Ram. *History of the Sikhs*. 5 vols. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1978–1991.
- . *A History of the Sikhs from Nadir Shah's Invasions to the Rise of Ranjit Singh (1739–1799)*. 3 vols. Simla: Minerva, 1939–1944.
- . *Short History of the Sikhs*. Ludhiana: Sahitya Sangam, 1970.
- Gustafson, W. Eric, and Kenneth W. Jones, eds. *Sources on Punjab History*. Delhi: Manohar, 1975.

- Hans, Surjit. *Reconstruction of Sikh History from Sikh Literature*. Jullundur: ABS Publications, 1988.
- Khilnani, N. M. *Rise of the Sikh Power in Punjab*. Delhi: Independent, 1990.
- Lal, Shiv. *Dateline Punjab Lifeline Sikhs*. New Delhi: Election Archives, 1994.
- Latif, Syad Muhammad. *History of the Panjab from the Remotest Antiquity to the Present Time*. 1891. Reprint, Delhi: Eurasia, 1964.
- Malik, Ikram Ali. *The History of the Punjab, 1799–1947*. Delhi: Neeraj, 1983.
- McLeod, W. H. *Sikhs of the Khalsa: A History of the Khalsa Rahit*. New Delhi: OUP, 2003.
- Narang, Gokul Chand. *Transformation of Sikhism*. 1914. Republished as *Glorious History of Sikhism*. New Delhi: New Book Society of India, 1972.
- Narang, K. S., and H. R. Gupta, eds. *History of the Punjab (1526–1857)*. Delhi: Uttar Chand Kapur, n.d.
- Nijjar, Bakhshish Singh. *Punjab under the British Rule*. 3 vols. New Delhi: K. B. Publications, 1974.
- Payne, C. H. *Short History of the Sikhs*. 1915. Reprint, Patiala: LDP, 1970.
- Singh, Chetan. *Region and Empire: Panjab in the Seventeenth Century*. Delhi: OUP, 1991.
- Singh, Darshan, ed. *Western Image of the Sikh Religion: A Source Book*. New Delhi: National Book Organisation, 1999.
- Singh, Fauja. *A Brief Account of the Freedom Movement in Punjab*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1972.
- . *Eminent Freedom Fighters of Punjab*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1972.
- Singh, Fauja, ed. *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*. New Delhi: Oriental, 1978.
- . *Who's Who: Punjab Freedom Fighters*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1972.
- Singh, Ganda. *The Sikhs and Their Religion*. Redwood City, CA: Sikh Foundation, 1974.
- Singh, Gopal. *History of the Sikh People (1469–1978)*. New Delhi: World Sikh University Press, 1979.
- Singh, Gopal, ed. [Different author]. *Punjab Past, Present, and Future*. Delhi: Ajanta, 1994.
- Singh, Gurcharan, and V. S. Suri. *Pir Budhu Shah: The Saint of Sadhaura*. Chandigarh: GGSF, 1967. 42 pp.
- Singh, Harnam. *Tales of the Sikh History*. Patiala: LDP, 1971.
- Singh, Khushwant. *A History of the Sikhs*. 2 vols. Rev. ed. Delhi: OUP, 1991.
- Singh, Nazer. *Delhi and Punjab: Essays in History and Historiography*. New Delhi: Sehgal, 1995.

- Singh, Pashaura, and N. Gerald Barrier, eds. *Sikhism and History*. New Delhi: OUP, 2004.
- Singh, R. N. *Historical Development of Sikhism*. New Delhi: Commonwealth, 2003.
- Singh, Rajinder. *Five Hundred Years of Sikhism*. Amritsar: CKD, n.d.
- Singh, Sangat. *The Sikhs in History*. 2nd ed. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 2002.
- Singh, Teja, and Ganda Singh. *A Short History of the Sikhs (1469–1765)*. 1950. Reprint, Patiala: Punjabi University, 1989.

The Eighteenth Century

- Ahluwalia, M. L. *Life and Times of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1989. 48 pp.
- Alam, Muzaffar. *The Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India: Awadh and the Punjab, 1707–1748*. Delhi: OUP, 1986.
- Banga, Indu. *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1978.
- Data, Piara Singh. *Banda Singh Bahadur*. Delhi: NBS, n.d.
- Deol, Gurdev Singh. *Banda Bahadur*. Jullundur: New Academic, 1972.
- Dhavan, Purnima. *When Sparrows Became Hawks: The Making of the Sikh Warrior Tradition, 1699–1799*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Dhillon, Harish. *The Legend of Banda Bahadur*. New Delhi: UBS, 2004.
- Gandhi, S. S. *Sikhs in the Eighteenth Century*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1999.
- . *Struggle of the Sikhs for Sovereignty*. Delhi: Gur Das Kapur, 1980.
- Malik, Arjan Dass. *An Indian Guerilla War: The Sikh People's War, 1699–1768*. New Delhi: Wiley Eastern, 1975.
- Nayyar, Gurbachan Singh. *Sikh Polity and Political Institutions*. New Delhi: Oriental, 1979.
- Sachdeva, Veena. *Policy and Economy of the Punjab during the Late Eighteenth Century*. Delhi: Manohar, 1993.
- Sagoo, Harbans Kaur. *Banda Singh Bahadur and Sikh Sovereignty*. New Delhi: Deep & Deep, 2001.
- Seetal, Sohan Singh. *Rise of the Sikh Power in the Panjab*. Jullundur: Dhanpat Rai, 1970.
- . *The Sikh Misals and the Punjab*. Ludhiana: Lahore Book Shop, 1981.
- Singh, Bhagat. *History of the Sikh Misals*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1993.
- . *Sikh Polity in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. New Delhi: Oriental, 1978.
- Singh, Ganda. *Ahmad Shah Durrani: Father of Modern Afghanistan*. Bombay: APH, 1959.

- . *Life of Banda Singh Bahadur*. Amritsar: Khalsa College, 1935. Reprint, Patiala: Punjabi University, 1990.
- . *Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1990.
- Singh, Kirpal. *Life of Maharaja Ala Singh of Patiala*. Amritsar: SGPC, 1954.
- Sinha, Narendra Krishna. *Rise of the Sikh Power*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1936.
- Singh, Raj Pal. *Banda Bahadur and His Times*. New Delhi: Harman, 1998.
- Singh, Sohan. *Life and Exploits of Banda Singh Bahadur*. 1915. Reprint, Patiala: Punjabi University, 2000.
- Syan, Hardeep Singh. *Sikh Militancy in the Seventeenth Century: Religious Violence in Mughal and Early Modern India*. London: I. B. Taurus, 2013.
- Virdi, Harbans Singh. *Warrior-Diplomat Jassa Singh Ramgarhia*. Chandigarh: Writers' Foundation, 1997.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Successors

Note: There is an extensive bibliography dealing with the period of the most popular Sikh ruler of the Punjab, Ranjit Singh (1800–1839), and the ten years of his successors. Because most of the works fall strictly within the area of history as opposed to religion, they have not been included here, apart from a few of particular importance and those that deal with figures of religious importance. For a fuller bibliography of the period, see Joseph T. O'Connell et al., eds., *Sikh History and Religion in the Twentieth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1988), pp. 462–467; and Rajwant Singh, comp., *The Sikhs* (Delhi: Indian Bibliographies Bureau, 1990), pp. 113–124.

- Ahluwalia, Jasbir Singh. *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 2001.
- Ahluwalia, Jasbir Singh, and Param Bakhshish Singh, eds. *An Overview of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 2001.
- Ahluwalia, M. L. *Sant Nihal Singh Alias Bhai Maharaj Singh: A Saint-Revolutionary of the 19th Century Punjab*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1972.
- Ahluwalia, M. L., and Kirpal Singh. *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*. New Delhi: Orient Longmans, 1963.
- Alexander, Michael, and Sushila Anand. *Queen Victoria's Maharajah: Duleep Singh 1838–93*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1980.
- Baddan, Baldev Singh, ed. *Fighter for Freedom: Maharaja Duleep Singh*. Delhi: NBS, 1998.
- Bajwa, Fauja Singh. *Military System of the Sikhs during the Period 1799–1849*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1964.
- Banerjee, A. C. *The Khalsa Raj*. New Delhi: Abhinav, 1985.

- Gill, Mohinder Kaur, ed. *Secular Sovereign Maharaja Ranjit Singh*. Delhi: M. P. Prakashan, 2002.
- Grewal, J. S. *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1982.
- . *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Structure of Power, Economy, and Society*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1981. 47 pp.
- Grewal, J. S., and Indu Banga, eds. *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1980.
- Hasrat, Bikrama Jit. *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh: A Saga of Benevolent Despotism*. Nabha: author, 1977.
- Jeet, Surjit Singh, ed. *The Maharajah Duleep Singh and the Government: A Narrative*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1999.
- Kapur, Prithipal Singh, ed. *Maharaja Duleep Singh: The Last Sovereign Ruler of the Punjab*. Amritsar: Dharam Parchar Committee, SGPC, 1995.
- Kapur, Prithipal Singh, and Dharam Singh, eds. *Maharaja Ranjit Singh Commemorative Volume*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 2001.
- Kohli, Sita Ram. *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*. Amritsar: GNDU, 2002.
- Lafont, Jean-Marie. *Fauj-i-Khas: Maharaja's French Connections*. Amritsar: GNDU, 2002.
- Nayyar, Gurbachan Singh. *The Campaigns of General Hari Singh Nalwa*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1995.
- Saggar, Balraj. *Who's Who in the History of the Punjab (1800–1849)*. New Delhi: NBO, 1993.
- Singh, Bhagat. *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1983.
- . *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*. New Delhi: Sehgal, 1990.
- Singh, Fauja. *After Ranjit Singh*. New Delhi: Master, 1982.
- . *Some Aspects of State and Society under Ranjit Singh*. New Delhi: Master, 1982.
- Singh, Fauja, and A. C. Arora, eds. *Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Politics, Society, and Economy*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1984.
- Singh, Harbans. *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*. New Delhi: Sterling, 1980.
- Singh, Khushwant. *The Fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab*. Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1962.
- . *Ranjit Singh: Maharajah of the Punjab, 1780–1839*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1962.
- Singh, Teja, and Ganda Singh, eds. *Maharaja Ranjit Singh: First Death Centenary Memorial*. Amritsar: Khalsa College, 1939.
- Suri, Sohan Lal. *Umdat ut-tawarikh, Daftar II, III, IV and V*. Amritsar: GNDU, 2002.
- Waheeduddin, Fakir Syed. *The Real Ranjit Singh*. Karachi: Lion Art Press, 1965.

Early British Interest and Administration

- Bal, S. S. *British Policy Towards Punjab, 1844–49*. Calcutta: New Age, 1971.
- Bance, Peter. *The Duleep Singhs: A Photograph Album of Queen Victoria's Maharaja*. Sutton: Publishing, 2004.
- Banerjee, Himadri. *Agrarian Society of the Punjab (1849–1901)*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1982.
- Cunningham, J. D. *A History of the Sikhs from the Origin of the Nation to the Battles of the Sutlej*. 1849. Reprint, New Delhi: S. Chand, 1985.
- Davis, Emmett. *Press and Politics in British Western Punjab, 1836–1947*. Delhi: Academic, 1983.
- Domin, Dolores. *India in 1857–59: A Study in the Role of the Sikhs in the People's Uprising*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1977.
- Dua, J. C. *Eighteenth Century Punjab*. New Delhi: Radha, 1992.
- Gordon, John H. *The Sikhs*. 1904. Reprint, Patiala: LDP, 1970.
- Gough, Charles, and Arthur D. Innes. *The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars: The Rise, Conquest, and Annexation of the Punjab State*. 1897. Reprint, Patiala: LDP, 1970.
- Grey, C. *European Adventurers of Northern India, 1785–1849*. Edited by H. L. O. Garrett. 1929. Reprint, Patiala: LDP, 1970.
- Hugel, Charles. *Travels in Cashmere and the Punjab, Containing a Particular Account of the Government and Character of the Sikhs*. Translated from the German with notes by Major T. B. Jervis. 1845. Reprint, Patiala: LDP, 1970.
- Khurana, G. *British Historiography on the Sikh Power in Punjab*. New Delhi: Allied, 1985.
- M'Gregor, W. L. *The History of the Sikhs*. 2 vols. London: James Madden, 1846.
- Major, Andrew J. *Return to Empire: Punjab under the Sikhs and British in the Mid-nineteenth Century*. New Delhi: Sterling, 1996.
- Malcolm, John. *Sketch of the Sikhs*. London: John Murray, 1812.
- Mehta, H. R. *A History of the Growth and Development of Western Education in the Punjab 1846–1884*. 1929. Reprint, Patiala: LDP, 1971.
- Murray, William. *Political, Religious and Social Affairs of the Punjab and the Sikh Memoirs of Capt. William Murray*. New Delhi: Deep & Deep, 1976. See entry under Prinsep, Henry T.
- Nijhawan, P. K. *The First Punjab War: Shah Mohammed's Jangnamah*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 2001.
- Prinsep, Henry T. *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*. Includes appendix, "On the Manner, Rules, and Customs of the Sikhs" by Captain W. Murray. (See Murray, William.) Calcutta: Military Orphan Press, 1834. Reprint, Patiala: LDP, 1970.

- Rose, H. A., comp. *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*. 3 vols. 1919. Reprint, Patiala: LDP, 1970.
- Sethi, Kamla. *Administration of Punjab: A Study in British Policy, 1875–1905*. Delhi: Renaissance, 1990.
- Sharma, Inderjit. *Land Revenue Administration in the Punjab (1849–1901)*. New Delhi: Atlantic, 1985.
- Singh, Ganda. *Indian Mutiny of 1857 and the Sikhs*. Delhi: Sikh Students Federation, 1960. 49 pp.
- Singh, Ganda, ed. *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs*. Calcutta: Indian Studies Past and Present, 1962.
- Singh, Hari. *Agrarian Scene in British Punjab*. New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1983.
- Singh, Sukhpal. *Civil Service in the Punjab (1849–1947)*. Jalandhar: ABS Publications, 1987.
- Smith, Richard Saumarez. *Rule by Records: Land Registration and Village Custom in Early British Panjab*. Delhi: OUP, 1996.
- Steinbach, [Henry]. *The Punjaub; Being a Brief Account of the Country of the Sikhs*. 1845. New edition edited by W. H. McLeod. Karachi: OUP, 1976.
- Thorburn, S. S. *The Punjab in Peace and War*. 1904. Reprint, Patiala: LDP, 1970.
- [Thornton, Thomas Henry]. *History of the Punjab and of the Rise, Progress, and Present Condition of the Sect and Nation of the Sikhs*. 2 vols. London: W. H. Allen, 1846. Reprint, Patiala: LDP, 1970.

The Singh Sabha, the Gurdwara Reform Movement, and Independence, 1873–1947

- Ahluwalia, M. L., ed. *Gurdwara Reform Movement, 1919–1925: An Era of Congress-Akali Collaboration: Select Documents*. New Delhi: Ashoka, 1985.
- Ali, Imran. *The Punjab under Imperialism, 1885–1947*. Delhi: OUP, 1989.
- All-India Sikh Gurdwaras Legislation: Statement of the Objectives and Reasons of the Proposed Bill and the Contents Thereof. Amritsar: SGPC, n.d.
- Aulakh, Gurcharan Singh. *Babbar Akali Movement: A Historical Survey*. Zira, 1993.
- Bajwa, Surinder Kaur. *Sikh Gurdwaras Act 1925*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1971.
- Bal, S. S. *Political Parties and the Growth of Communalism in Punjab, 1920–47*. Chandigarh: CRRID, 1989.
- Bal, Sukhmani. *Politics of the Central Sikh League*. Delhi: Books N' Books, 1990.

- Barrier, N. Gerald. *Banned: Controversial Literature and Political Control in British India 1907–1947*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1976.
- . *Sikh Resurgence: The Period and Its Literature*. Delhi: Manohar, 1969. 8 pp.
- Bhatia, Shyamala. *Social Change and Politics in Punjab, 1898–1910*. New Delhi: Enkay, 1987.
- Darling, Malcolm Lyall. *At Freedom's Door*. London: OUP, 1949.
- . *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*. 1925. Reprint, with introduction by Clive J. Dewey, Columbia, MO: South Asia Books, 1978.
- . *Rusticus Loquitur, or the Old Light and the New in the Punjab Village*. London: OUP, 1930.
- . *Wisdom and Waste*. London: OUP, 1934.
- Datta, V. N., and S. Settar, eds. *Jallianwala Bagh Massacre*. Delhi: Pragati, 2000.
- Deol, Gurdev Singh. *Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*. Delhi: Sterling, 1969.
- Dhillon, Gurdarshan Singh. *Character and Impact of the Singh Sabha Movement on the History of the Punjab*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1973.
- Effenberg, Christine. *The Political Status of the Sikhs during the Indian National Movement, 1935–1947*. New Delhi: Archives, 1989.
- Fox, Richard G. *Lions of the Punjab: Culture in the Making*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
- Ghai, Prem Vati. *The Partition of the Punjab, 1849–1947*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1986.
- Grewal, J. S., and Puri, H. K., eds. *Letters of Udham Singh*. Amritsar: Guru Nanak University, 1974.
- Grover, D. R. *Civil Disobedience Movement in the Punjab (1930–34)*. Delhi: B. R. Publishing, 1987.
- Hansen, Anders Bjørn. *Partition and Genocide: Manifestation of Violence in Punjab, 1937–47*. Delhi: India Research Press, 2002.
- Indictment of Patiala*. Bombay: All India States' People's Conference, 1939.
- Javed, Ajeet. *Left Politics in Punjab, 1935–47*. Delhi: Durga, 1988.
- Jones, Kenneth W. *Socio-religious Reform Movements in British India*. New Cambridge History of India, vol. 3. pt. 1. Cambridge: CUP, 1989.
- Josh, Bhagwan. *Communist Movement in Punjab (1926–47)*. New Delhi: Anupama, 1979.
- Josh, Sohan Singh. *Hindustan Gadar Party: A Short History*. 2 vols. New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1977–1978.
- Kapur, Rajiv A. *Sikh Separatism: The Politics of Faith*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1986.
- Khanna, K. *Sikh Leadership and Some Aspects of Anglo-Sikh Relations*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1969.
- Khullar, K. K. *Shaheed Bhagat Singh*. New Delhi: Hem, 1981.

- Mahajan, Ganeshi. *Congress Politics in the Punjab (1885–1947)*. Shimla: K. K. Publisher, 2002.
- Mann, Jasbir Singh, et al., eds. *Invasion of Religious Boundaries: A Critique of Harjot Oberoi's Work*. Vancouver: Canadian Sikh Study & Teaching Society, 1995.
- Mittal, S. C. *Freedom Movement in Punjab (1905–29)*. Delhi: Concept, 1977.
- Mohan, Kamlesh. *Militant Nationalism in the Punjab, 1919–1935*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1985.
- Nabha, Kahan Singh. *Sikhs: We Are Not Hindus*. Translated by Jarnail Singh. Willowdale, ON: translator, 1984.
- Nijjar, Bakhshish Singh. *History of the Babar Akalis*. Jalandhar: ABS Publications, 1987.
- Oberoi, Harjot. *The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity, and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition*. Delhi: OUP, 1994; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Oxen, Stephen. *The Sikhs and the Punjab Politics, 1921–1947*. Vancouver: UBC, 1964.
- Petrie, D. *Developments in Sikh Politics 1900–1911: A Report*. Amritsar: CKD, n.d.
- Purewal, Shinder. *Sikh Ethnonationalism and the Political Economy of Punjab*. New Delhi: OUP, 2000.
- Puri, Harish K. *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1983.
- Rahbar, Hansraj. *Bhagat Singh and His Thought*. New Delhi: Manak, 1990.
- Rai, Satya M. *Legislative Politics and the Freedom Struggle in the Panjab, 1897–1947*. New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research, 1984.
- . *Punjabi Heroic Tradition, 1900–1947*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1978.
- Sahni, Ruchi Ram. *Struggle for Reform in Sikh Shrines*. Amritsar: Sikh Itihas Research Board, 1964.
- Saini, B. S. *The Social and Economic History of the Punjab, 1901–1939*. Delhi: Ess Ess, 1975.
- Sarsfield, Landen. *Betrayal of the Sikhs*. Lahore: Lahore Book Shop, 1946.
- Sethi, G. R. *Sikh Struggle for Gurdwara Reform or the History of the Gurdwara Reform Movement*. Amritsar: Union Press, 1927.
- Shani, Giorgio. *Sikh Nationalism and Identity in a Global Age*. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Sharma, S. C. *Punjab: The Crucial Decade*. New Delhi: Nirmal, 1987.
- Singh, Amar. *Memorandum of the Central Akali Dal*. Lahore: Westend, 1946.
- Singh, Amarjit. *Punjab Divided: Politics of the Muslim League and Partition, 1935–1947*. New Delhi: Kanishka, 2001.

- Singh, Darbara. *The Punjab Tragedy, 1947*. Amritsar: Steno House Agency, 1949.
- [Singh, Ganda]. *A History of the Khalsa College Amritsar*. Amritsar: Khalsa College, 1949.
- Singh, Ganda, ed. *Some Confidential Papers of the Akali Movement*. Amritsar: SGPC, 1965.
- . *The Singh Sabha and Other Socio-Religious Movements in the Punjab 1850–1925*. Vol. 7, pt. 1 (April 1973) of *The Panjab Past and Present*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1984.
- Singh, Gurcharan. *Babbar Akali Movements*. Zira: Aman, 1993.
- Singh, Gurbachan, and Lal Singh. *The Idea of the Sikh State*. Lahore: Lahore Book Shop, 1946.
- Singh, Gurmit. *Failures of Akali Leadership*. Sirsa: Usha Institute of Religious Studies, 1981.
- Singh, Hari. *Punjab Peasant in Freedom Struggle*. New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1984.
- Singh, Iqbal. *Facts about Akali Agitation in Punjab*. Chandigarh: Fairdeal Press, 1960.
- Singh, Kardar. *The Plight of the Sikhs*. Lahore: Servants of Sikh Society, 1944.
- Singh, Khushdeva. *Love Is Stronger Than Hate: A Remembrance of 1947*. Patiala: Guru Nanak Mission, 1973.
- Singh, Khushwant, and Satindra Singh. *Ghadar 1915: India's First Armed Revolution*. New Delhi: R & K, 1966.
- Singh, Kirpal. *The Partition of the Punjab*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1972.
- Singh, Malwinder Jit, and Harinder Singh, eds. *War against King Emperor: Ghadr of 1914–15*. Ludhiana: Bhai Sahib Randhir Singh Trust, 2001.
- Singh, Manjit. *Late S. Khazan Singh: A Pioneer in the Akali Movement*. 2 vols. New Delhi: author. Vol. 1, 3rd ed., 1975. Vol. 2, 2nd ed., 1974.
- Singh, Mohinder. *The Akali Movement*. New Delhi: Macmillan, 1978. Reprinted, with an extra chapter, as *The Akali Struggle: A Retrospect*. New Delhi: Atlantic, 1988.
- . *Baba Kharak Singh and India's Struggle for Freedom*. New Delhi: Sehgal, 1993.
- Singh, Nahar, and Kirpal Singh, eds. *Struggle for Free Hindustan (Ghadr Movement)*. New Delhi: Atlantic, 1986.
- Singh, Narayan. *Jathedar Bhai Kartar Singh Jhabbar: The Life and Times*. Translated by Karnail Singh. Amritsar: SGPC, 2001.
- Singh, Navtej, et al., eds. *Emergence of the Image: Documents on Udham Singh*. New Delhi: National Book Organization, 2002.
- Singh, Raghubir. *Akali Movement, 1926–1947*. New Delhi: Omsons, 2001.
- Singh, Rup. *Tat Khalsa: The Purest of the Pure*. Lahore: Sikh Tract Society, 1917. 17 pp.

- Singh, Teja. *The Gurdwara Reform Movement and the Sikh Awakening*. Jullundur: Desh Sewak, 1922. Reprint, Amritsar: SGPC, 1984.
- . *Struggle for Freedom of Religious Worship in Jaito*. Amritsar: SGPC, 1998. 96 pp.
- Smith, V. W. *Akali Dal and Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee*. Simla: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1922.
- Talbot, Ian. *Punjab and the Raj, 1849–1947*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1988.
- Talib, Gurbachan Singh. *Muslim League Attack on Sikhs and Hindus in 1947*. Amritsar: SGPC, 1950.
- Talib, Gurbachan Singh, ed. *Muslim League Attack on Sikhs and Hindus in the Punjab, 1947*. New Delhi: Voice of India, 1991.
- Tanwar, Raghuvendra. *Politics of Sharing Power: The Punjab Unionist Party, 1923–1947*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1999.
- Tatla, D. S. *Guide to Sources on Ghadar Movement*. Amritsar: GNDU, 2003.
- Tuteja, K. L. *Sikh Politics (1920–1940)*. Kurukshetra: Vishal, 1984.
- Upreti, Prem Raman. *Religion and Politics in the Punjab in the 1920's*. New Delhi: Sterling, 1980.
- Walia, Ramesh. *Praja Mandal Movement in East Punjab States*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1972.

The Period since Independence

- Adhikari, Gangadhar M. *Sikh Homeland through Hindu-Muslim Sikh Unity*. Bombay: Peoples Publishing House, 1945.
- Aggarwal, J. C., and S. P. Aggarwal, eds. *Modern History of Punjab: Select Documents*. New Delhi: Concept, 1992.
- Amnesty International. *India: Human Rights Violations in Punjab: Use and Abuse of the Law*. New York: Amnesty International, 1991.
- Anand, Jagjit Singh, et al. *Punjabi Suba: A Symposium*. Delhi: National Book Club, 1967.
- Arora, S. C. *President's Rule in Indian States: A Study of Punjab*. New Delhi: Mittal, 1990.
- . *Turmoil in Punjab Politics*. New Delhi: Mittal, 1990.
- Bains, Ajit Singh. *Siege of the Sikhs: Violation of Human Rights in Punjab*. Toronto: New Magazine, 1988.
- Bhalla, Bhushan Chander. *The Punjab Belongs to the Sikhs*. Lahore: Modern, 1947.
- Bhindranwale, Jarnail Singh. *Struggle for Justice: Speeches and Conversations of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale*. Translated by Ranbir Singh Sandhu. Dublin, OH: Sikh Educational and Religious Foundation, 1999.
- Bhullar, Pritam. *The Sikh Mutiny*. New Delhi: Siddharth, 1987.
- Brar, K. S. *Operation Blue Star: The True Story*. New Delhi: UBS, 1993.

- Butani, D. H. *The Third Sikh War? Towards or Away from Khalistan*. New Delhi: Promilla, 1986.
- Chakravarti, Uma, and Nandita Haksar, eds. *Delhi Riots: Three Days in the Life of a Nation*. New Delhi: Lancer International, 1987.
- Chima, Jagdep. *The Sikh Separatist Insurgency in India: Political Leadership and Ethnonationalist Movements*. New Delhi: Sage, 2010.
- Chopra, V. D., et al. *Agony of Punjab*. New Delhi: Patriot, 1984.
- Dang, Satya Pal. *Terrorism in Punjab*. Delhi: Gyan, 2000.
- Darshi, A. R. *The Gallant Defender [Bhindranwale]*. Ludhiana: author, 1999.
- Deol, Gurdev Singh, ed. *Punjab Problem: An Academic Approach*. Amritsar: Sikh History Research Centre, 1989.
- Deora, M. S. *Akali Agitation to Operation Bluestar: Chronology of Events*. 2 vols. New Delhi: Anmol, 1991.
- Dharam, S. S. *Internal and External Threats of Sikhism*. Arlington Heights, IL, 1986.
- Dhillon, G. S. *India Commits Suicide*. Chandigarh: Singh & Singh, 1992.
- . *Truth about Punjab*. Amritsar: SGPC, 1996.
- Dogra, Bharat. *Punjab: Grass-roots Problems and Solutions*. New Delhi: Shahid Bhagat Singh Research Committee, 1988.
- Duggal, K. S. *Understanding the Sikh Psyche: Reflections on the Current Punjab Crisis*. New Delhi: Siddharth, 1992.
- Embree, Ainslie T. *Utopias in Conflict: Religion and Nationalism in Modern India*. Berkeley: University of California, 1990.
- Gill, K. P. S. *Punjab: The Knights of Falsehood*. New Delhi: Har Anand, 1997.
- Gill, K. P. S., and Ajai Sahni, eds. *Terror and Containment*. New Delhi: Gyan, 2001.
- Gossman, Patricia. *Punjab in Crisis*. Asia Watch Report. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1991.
- Grewal, J. S., and Indu Banga, eds. *Punjab in Prosperity and Violence, 1947–1997*. New Delhi: KK Publishers, 1998.
- IHRO. *Indo-US Shadow over Punjab*. London: International Human Rights Organisation, 1992.
- Jafar, Ghani. *The Sikh Volcano*. New Delhi: Atlantic, 1988.
- Jaijee, Inderjeet Singh. *Politics of Genocide: Punjab 1984–1994*. Delhi: Ajanta, 1995.
- Jain, Harish, ed. *Report of Justice Ranganath Misra Commission of Inquiry*. Sirhind: Takshila, n.d.
- Jeffrey, Robin. *What's Happening to India? Punjab, Ethnic Conflict, Mrs. Gandhi's Death, and the Test for Federalism*. London: Macmillan, 1986.
- Judge, Paramjit S. *Insurrection to Agitation: The Naxalite Movement in Punjab*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1992.

- Kanwal, Jaswant Singh. *The Other Zafarnamah: An Open Letter to Rajiv Gandhi*. Sirhind: Lokgeet, n.d.
- Kapoor, Sukhbir Singh. *Invasion of the Golden Temple*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 1984.
- Kapur, Anup Chand. *The Punjab Crisis: An Analytical Study*. New Delhi: S. Chand, 1985.
- Kaur, Harminder. *Blue Star over Amritsar*. Delhi: Ajanta, 1990.
- Kaur, Jaskaran. *Twenty Years of Impunity: The November 1984 Pogroms of Sikhs in India*. Santa Clara, CA: Ensaaf, 2004.
- Khalsa, S. S. Shanti Kaur. *The History of Sikh Dharma of the Western Hemisphere*. Espanola, NM: Sikh Dharma Publications, 1995.
- Khosla, Shyam, et al. *Terrorism in Punjab: Cause and Cure*. Chandigarh: Panchnad Research Institute, 1987.
- Kshitish. *Storm in Punjab*. Translated by Vinod Dhawan. New Delhi: Word, 1985.
- Kumar, Parmod, et al. *Punjab Crisis: Context and Trends*. Chandigarh: CRRID, 1984.
- Kumar, Ram Narayan. *Sikh Unrest and the Indian State*. Delhi: Ajanta, 1997.
- Kumar, Ram Narayan, et al. *Reduced to Ashes: The Insurgency and Human Rights in Punjab*. Kathmandu: South Asia Forum for Human Rights, 2003.
- Kumar, Ram Narayan, and Georg Sieberer. *The Sikh Struggle: Origin, Evolution, and Present Phase*. Delhi: Chanakya, 1991.
- Lal, Mohan. *Disintegration of Punjab*. Chandigarh: Sameer, 1984.
- Mahmood, Cynthia Keppley. *Fighting for Faith and Nation: Dialogues with Sikh Militants*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.
- Maini, D. S. *Cry the Beloved Punjab*. New Delhi: Siddharth, 1986.
- Narang, A. S. *Democracy Development and Distortion*. New Delhi: Gitanjali, 1986. Also published as *Punjab Accord and Elections, Retrospect and Prospect*. New Delhi: Gitanjali, 1986.
- Nayar, Kuldeep, and Khushwant Singh. *Tragedy of Punjab: Operation Blue-star and After*. New Delhi: Vision, 1984.
- Nijjar, B. S. *Indian Panjab*. Jalandhar: ABS Publications, 1985.
- Pettigrew, Joyce J. M. *The Sikhs of the Punjab: Unheard Voices of State and Guerrilla Violence*. London: Zed, 1995.
- Puri, Harish K., Paramjit Singh Judge, and Jagrup Singh Sekhon. *Terrorism in Punjab: Understanding Grassroots Reality*. New Delhi: Har Anand, 1999.
- Rai, Satya M. *Partition of the Punjab: A Study of Its Effect on Politics and Administration, 1947–56*. New York: APH, 1965.
- . *Punjab since Partition*. Delhi: Durga, 1986.
- Randhawa, M. S. *Out of the Ashes. An Account of the Rehabilitation of Refugees from West Pakistan in Rural Areas of East Punjab*. N.p., 1954.

- Reddy, G. K. C., ed. *Army Action in Punjab: Prelude and Aftermath*. New Delhi: Samata Era, 1984.
- Sahota, Dharam Singh. *Sikh Struggle for Autonomy (1940–1992)*. Garhdiwala: Guru Nanak Study Centre, 1993.
- Samiuddin, Abida, ed. *The Punjab Crisis: Challenge and Response*. Delhi: Mittal, 1985.
- Sarhadi, Ajit Singh. *Punjabi Suba: The Story of the Struggle*. Delhi: U. C. Kapur, 1970.
- Sarin, Ritu. *The Assassination of Indira Gandhi*. New Delhi: Penguin, 1990.
- Saxena, N. S., et al. *Punjab Tangle: The Different Perspectives*. New Delhi: Amrit, 1984.
- Sidhu, Bhagwant Singh. *Sikhs at Crossroads*. Patiala: Des Raj, 1984.
- Singh, Amrik, ed. *Punjab in Indian Politics: Issues and Trends*. Delhi: Ajanta, 1985.
- Singh, Bhan, ed. *Facts about Punjabi Suba Agitation: A Collection of Memoranda Presented before Das Commission*. Amritsar: Shiromani Akali Dal, 1960.
- Singh, Darshan. *Terrorism in Punjab: Selected Articles and Speeches*. Edited by Satyapal Dang. New Delhi: Patriot, 1987.
- Singh, Devinder. *Akali Politics in Punjab (1964–1985)*. New Delhi: NBO, 1993.
- Singh, Gopal. *Politics of the Sikh Homeland, 1940–1990*. Delhi: Ajanta, 1994.
- Singh, Gopal, ed. *Punjab Today*. New Delhi: Intellectual, 1987.
- Singh, Gur Rattan Pal. *The Illustrated History of the Sikhs (1947–84)*. Chandigarh: author, 1979.
- Singh, Gurmit. *History of Sikh Struggles, 1946–1989*. 3 vols. New Delhi: Atlantic, 1989–1991.
- Singh, Gurpreet. *Terrorism: Punjab's Recurring Nightmare*. Edited by Gaurav Jawal. New Delhi: Sehgal, 1996.
- Singh, Gurtej. *Chakravayuh: Web of Indian Secularism*. Chandigarh: Institute of Sikh Studies, 2000.
- . *Tandav of the Centaur: Sikhs and Indian Secularism*. Chandigarh: Institute of Sikh Studies, 1996.
- Singh, Hari. *Agricultural Workers' Struggle in Punjab*. New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1980.
- Singh, Harnam. *Sikh Memorandum to the Punjab Boundary Commission*. Lahore: author, 1947.
- Singh, Hukum. *Plea for Punjabi-speaking State*. Amritsar: Shiromani Akali Dal, n.d.
- Singh, Iqbal. *Punjab under Siege: A Critical Analysis*. New York: Allen, McMillan & Enderson, 1986.

- Singh, Jaswant. *Facts without Rhetoric: The Demand for Punjabi Suba*. New Delhi: Suba, 1960.
- Singh, Kapur. *Some Documents on the Demand for the Sikh Homeland*. Chandigarh: All India Sikh Students' Federation, 1956.
- Singh, Khushwant. *My Bleeding Punjab*. New Delhi: UBSPD, 1992.
- Singh, Khushwant, et al. *The Punjab Story*. New Delhi: Roli, 1984.
- Singh, Kirpal. *Eye-Witness Account of Operation Blue-Star*. Translated and edited by Anurag Singh. Amritsar: B. Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, 1999.
- Singh, Kirpal, ed. *Select Documents on Partition of Punjab, 1947*. Delhi: NBS, 1991.
- Singh, Mohinder. *Peasant Movement in PEPSU Punjab*. New Delhi: NBO, 1991.
- Singh, Partap. *Khalistan: The Only Solution*. West Hills, CA: author, 1991.
- Singh, Patwant, and Harji Malik, eds. *Punjab: The Fatal Miscalculation*. New Delhi: Patwant Singh, 1985.
- Singh, Sadhu Swarup. *The Sikhs Demand Their Homeland*. Lahore: Sikh University Press, 1946.
- Singh, Sarab Jit. *Operation Black Thunder: An Eyewitness Account of Terrorism in Punjab*. New Delhi: Sage, 2002.
- Singh, Satinder. *Khalistan: An Academic Analysis*. New Delhi: Amar Prakashan, 1982.
- Singh, Tara. *Save Hindi Agitation and Sikh View-point*. Delhi: Indian Union Press, n.d.
- Stephens, Ian. *Among the Sikhs: An Overblamed People*. Calcutta: Statesman, 1948.
- Surjeet, Harkishan Singh. *Deepening Punjab Crisis: A Democratic Solution*. New Delhi: Patriot, 1992.
- Tully, Mark, and Satish Jacob. *Amritsar: Mrs. Gandhi's Last Battle*. Calcutta: Rupa, 1985.

DOCTRINE AND SYMBOLS

General

- Ahluwalia, Jasbir Singh. *The Doctrine and Dynamics of Sikhism*. Patiala: Punjabi University, n.d.
- Bir, Ragbir Singh. *Bandagi Nama: Communion with the Divine*. Calcutta: Atam Science Trust, 1981.
- Chahal, Devinder Singh. *Sabd Guru to Granth Guru (An In-Depth Study)*. Quebec: Institute for Understanding Sikhism, 2004.

- Cole, W. Owen. *The Guru in Sikhism*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1982.
- Doabia, Harbans Singh. *Introduction to the Philosophy of Sikh Religion (Based Wholly on Divine Hymns): God, Maya, and Death*. Chandigarh: Harbans Singh Satwant Kaur Charitable Trust, n.d.
- Duggal, Kartar Singh. *God Is*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 2001.
- Gill, Pritam Singh. *Trinity of Sikhism: Philosophy, Religion, State*. Jullundur: New Academic, 1973.
- Jain, Nirmal Kumar. *Sikh Religion and Philosophy*. New Delhi: Sterling, 1979.
- Kapoor, Sukhbir Singh, ed. *The Creation of the Khalsa*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 1999.
- Kaur, Gurnam. *Reason and Revelation in Sikhism*. New Delhi: Cosmo, 1990.
- Kaur, Rajinder. *God in Sikhism*. Amritsar: SGPC, 1999.
- . *Sikh Conception of Godhood*. Chandigarh: Panjab University, 1965.
- Kaur, Satnam. *Three Basics of Sikh Religious Thought: Faith, Grace, and Prayer*. Delhi: Pragati, 1997.
- Kohli, Surindar Singh. *Attributes of God*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 2000.
- . *Death and After*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1999.
- . *Ego (Haumai)*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 2002.
- . *God's Will (Hukm)*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 2002.
- . *Grace*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 2001.
- . *Naam (Name of the Lord)*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1999.
- . *Outlines of Sikh Thought*. New Delhi: Punjabi Prakashak, 1966.
- . *Real Sikhism*. New Delhi: Harman, 1994.
- . *The Sikh Philosophy*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1992.
- Lahori, Lajwanti. *The Concept of Man in Sikhism*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1985.
- McMullen, Clarence O., ed. *The Nature of Guruship*. Batala: Christian Institute of Sikh Studies, 1976.
- Mansukhani, Gobind Singh. *The Quintessence of Sikhism*. Amritsar: SGPC, 1958.
- Massey, James. *The Doctrine of Ultimate Reality in Sikh Religion. A Study of Guru Nanak's Hymns in the Adi Grantha*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1991.
- Pall, S. J. S. *The Living of a Gursikh*. Amritsar: B. Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, 2001.
- Puri, Gopal Singh. *Self-realisation and the Sikh Faith*. New Delhi: Falcon, 1994.
- Sharma, Harbans Lal. *Concept of Jiva of Guru Nanak Against the Background of Different Indian Schools of Philosophy and Religions*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1971.
- Sikka, Ajit Singh. *Beacons of Light*. Ludhiana: Bee Kay, 1975.
- . *Facets of Guru Nanak's Thought*. Ludhiana: author, 1972.

- . *Philosophy of Mind in the Poetry of Guru Nanak: A Comparative Study with European Philosophy*. Ludhiana: Bee Kay, 1973.
- Singh, Dharam. *Sikh Theology of Liberation*. New Delhi: Harman, 1991.
- Singh, Godwin Rajinder. *Gur Parsad: Sikh Doctrine of Divine Grace: An Interfaith Perspective*. Kowloon, Hong Kong: Christian Conference of Asia, 1992.
- Singh, Harnam. *Sikh Religion: Karma and Transmigration*. Jullundur: author, 1955.
- Singh, Himmat. *Philosophical Conception of 'Sabda.'* Patiala: author, 1985.
- Singh, I. J. *Being and Becoming a Sikh*. N.p. [Canada]: Centennial Foundation, 2003.
- Singh, Jodh. *A Few Sikh Doctrines Reconsidered*. Delhi: NBS, 1990.
- . *Outlines of Sikh Philosophy*. Patiala: Sikh Heritage, 2000.
- Singh, Joginder, and Gurmukh Nihal Singh. *Sikhism: Today and Tomorrow*. Lahore: Modern Publications, 1945.
- Singh, Madanjeet. *Reflections of My Mind*. Delhi: Gurdas Kapur, 1973.
- Singh, Narain. *Our Heritage*. Amritsar: CKD, n.d.
- Singh, Nikky-Guninder Kaur. *The Feminine Principle in the Sikh Vision of the Transcendent*. Cambridge: CUP, 1993.
- Singh, Nirbhai. *Philosophy of Sikhism: Reality and Its Manifestations*. New Delhi: Atlantic, 1990.
- . *Sikh Dynamic Vision*. Delhi: Harman, 2003.
- Singh, Nirmal. *Exploring Sikh Spirituality and the Paradox of Their Stereotyping*. New Delhi: Sanbun, 2003.
- Singh, Partap. *Gurmat Philosophy*. Amritsar: Sikh Publishing House, 1951.
- Singh, Prakash. *The Sikh Gurus and the Temple of Bread*. Amritsar: SGPC, 1964.
- Singh, Pritam, ed. *Sikh Concept of the Divine*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1985.
- Singh, Sarbjinder. *Divine Revelation*. New Delhi: Sikh Foundation, 2004.
- Singh, Teja. *Sikh Religion: An Outline of Its Doctrines*. Amritsar: SGPC, 1958. 36 pp.
- Singh, Wazir. *Focus on Religion and Sikh Thought*. Delhi: NBS, 2003.
- . *Philosophy of Sikh Religion: A Bunch of Eleven Studies*. New Delhi: Ess Ess, 1981.
- . *The Sikh Vision: Problems of Philosophy and Faith*. New Delhi: Ess Ess, 1992.
- Sobti, Isher Singh. *Death Demystified*. Ludhiana: Isher Singh Sobti, 2003.
- Sondhi, S. P. *Grace of God and Guru in Sikh Philosophy*. Delhi: Global, 2002.
- Uberoi, Mohan Singh. *Sikh Mysticism: The Sevenfold Yoga of Sikhism*. Amritsar: author, 1964.

Ethics

- Anand, Balwant Singh. *Guru Nanak: Religion and Ethics*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1968.
- Kapoor, Sukhbir Singh. *Nitnem*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 1996.
- Kaur, Birendra. *Hair Hair!* Chandigarh: Institute of Sikh Studies, 1998. 47 pp.
- Kohli, Surindar Singh. *Ritualism and Its Rejection in Sikhism*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 2000.
- . *Sikh Ethics*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1973.
- . *Yoga of the Sikhs*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1991.
- Pannikar, K. M. *Ideals of Sikhism*. Lahore: Sikh Tract Society, 1924.
- Puri, Shamsheer Singh. *Prayer*. Delhi: NBS, 1995.
- Singh, Avtar. *Ethics of the Sikhs*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1970.
- Singh, Nripinder. *The Sikh Moral Tradition: Ethical Perceptions of the Sikhs in the Late Nineteenth/Early Twentieth Century*. New Delhi: Manohar; Columbia, MO: South Asia Publications, 1990.
- Singh, Ranbir. *The Sikh Way of Life*. New Delhi: Indian Publishers, 1969.
- Singh, Randhir. *Ethics of Sikhs*. Amritsar: SGPC, 1953.
- Singh, Santokh. *Philosophical Foundations of the Sikh Value System*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1982.
- Singh, Trilochan. *Ethical Philosophy of Guru Nanak*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1973.
- Talib, Gurbachan Singh. *Study of the Moral Code of Guru Nanak's Teachings*. Chandigarh: Panjab University, 1970.

Symbols, Rituals, and Customs

- Aggarwal, S. C. *Sketch of the Sikhs: Their Customs and Manners*. Chandigarh: Vinay, 1981.
- Babraa, Davinder Kaur. *Visiting a Sikh Temple*. London: Lutterworth, 1981.
- Bajwa, Ranjit Singh. *Semiotics of the Birth Ceremonies in Punjab*. New Delhi: Bahri, 1991.
- Batth, Gurdev Singh. *Sikh Rehat Maryada*. Hong Kong: author, 1990.
- Bedi, Sohinder Singh. *Folklore of the Punjab*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, 1971.
- Bennett, Olivia. *Sikh Wedding*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1985. 27 pp.
- Cole, W. Owen, and Piara Singh Sambhi. *Baisakhi*. Oxford: Religious and Moral Education Press, 1986. 32 pp.
- Doabia, Harbans Singh, trans. *Sacred Nitnem: The Divine Hymns of the Daily Prayers by the Sikhs*. Rev. ed. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1976.

- Jyoti, Surinder Kaur. *Marriage Practices of the Sikhs: A Study of Intergenerational Differences*. New Delhi: Deep & Deep, 1983.
- Kapoor, Sukhbir Singh. *Rehras*. New Delhi: Sterling, 1993.
- . *Sikh Festivals*. Hove: Wayland, 1985.
- . *The Sikh Marriage Ceremony*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 1998.
- McMullen, Clarence O., ed. *Rituals and Sacraments in Indian Religions*. Delhi: ISPCK, 1979.
- Murphy, Anne. *The Materiality of the Past: History and Representation in Sikh Tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Myrvold, Kristina. *Inside the Guru's Gate: Ritual Uses of Texts Among the Sikhs of Varanasi*. Lund, Sweden: Department of History and Anthropology of Religions, 2007.
- Rama, Swami, trans. *Nitnem: Spiritual Practices of Sikhism*. Honesdale, PA: Himalayan, 1989.
- Singh, Chanda. *Hair and Health*. Kot Kapura: Human Hair Research Institute, 1956.
- Singh, Gopal, trans. *The Sikh Prayer Book*. New York: World Sikh Centre, 1982.
- Singh, Gurbakhsh. *Sri Rehras, Ardas, and Sohila: Text in Roman and Gurmukhi, English Rendering in Verse*. Bombay: Veekay Weekly, n.d.
- Singh, Jogendra. *Sikh Ceremonies*. 1941. Reprint, Ludhiana: Lahore Book Shop, 1989.
- Singh, Kapur. *Parasharprasna or the Baisakhi of Guru Gobind Singh*. Rev. ed. Edited by Madanjit Kaur and Piar Singh. Amritsar: GNDU, 1989.
- Singh, Khazan. *Role in the Kirpan Struggle*. New Delhi: Manjit Singh, 1975.
- Singh, Kirpal. *Sikh Symbols*. Gravesend: Sikh Missionary Society of UK, 1971.
- Singh, Mohinder, ed. *Sikh Forms and Symbols*. New Delhi: Manohar, 2000.
- . *The Sikh Wedding*. New Delhi: UBS, 2004.
- Singh, Sahib, and Dalip Singh. *Sword: Symbol of Divine Authority*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 2002.
- Singh, Santokh. *Sword of the Khalsa*. Gangyal, Jammu: Gujral, 1991.
- Singh, Sher. *Thoughts on Forms and Symbols in Sikhism*. Lahore: Mercantile, 1927.
- Singh, Shumsher, trans. *The Daily Sikh Prayer (Nitnem)*. Delhi: NBS, 1990.
- Singh, Trilochan. *The Turban and the Sword of the Sikhs*. Gravesend: Sikh Missionary Society, 1977. Reprint, Amritsar: B. Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, 2001.
- Suri, Paropkar Singh. *Rational Basis of Sikh Symbols*. Calcutta: author, 1957.
- Talib, Gurbachan Singh. *Nitnem*. New Delhi: GNF, 1983.

SACRED SCRIPTURE AND OTHER RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

The Adi Granth: Complete English Translations

- Chahil, Pritam Singh, trans. *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*. 4 vols. New Delhi: translator, 1992.
- Makin, G. S. *The Essence of Sri Guru Granth Sahib*. 5 vols. Chandigarh: Guru Tegh Bahadur Educational Centre, 2001.
- Singh, Gopal, trans. *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*. 4 vols. Delhi: Gurdas Kapur, 1960–1962.
- Singh, Manmohan, trans. *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*. 8 vols. Amritsar: SGPC, 1969.
- Talib, Gurbachan Singh, trans. *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*. 4 vols. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1984–1990.

The Adi Granth: Japji

- Bedi, Gursharan Singh, trans. *The Psalm of Life: An English Translation of Guru Nanak's Japji Sahib in Verse*. Amritsar: Sikh Publishing House, 1950.
- Bhave, Vinoba. *Commentary on Japuji: Guru Nanak's Great Composition*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1973. English translation with notes and introduction by Gurbachan Singh Talib.
- Chatterjee, Yatindra Mohan, trans. *Japji*. Calcutta: D. M. Library, 1946.
- Chauhan, G. S. *Guru Nanak Dev's Japji*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 2004.
- Chellaram, trans. *Jap ji*. New Delhi: NBSM, 1955.
- Dhody, Chaman Lal, trans. *Japuji Sahib: The Chant Sublime*. New Delhi: Ess Ess, 1991.
- Doabia, Harbans Singh, trans. *Sacred Jap ji*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1974.
- Duggal, K. S., trans. *The Japuji*. New Delhi: UBSPD, 2000.
- Duggal, Parambir Singh, trans. *Japji*. Amritsar: B. Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, 2000.
- Ghai, O. P., trans. *Jap ji*. New Delhi: Sterling, 1991.
- Gill, Danielle, and Harjeet Singh Gill, trans. *Japuji: The Cosmic Hymn of Guru Nanak*. New Delhi: Bahri, 1994.
- Kapoor, Sukhbir Singh, trans. *Japji*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 1992.
- Karamchandani, Pritam Das V. *Essay on Japji*. Poona: author, 1963.
- Karamchandani, Pritam Das V, trans. *Japji by Guru Nanak Sahib*. Bombay: D. N. Abhichandani, 1962.
- Lal, P., trans. *Japji: Fourteen Religious Songs*. Calcutta: Writers' Workshop, 1967. 16 pp.

- Lal, P., trans. *More Songs from the Japji*. Calcutta: Writers' Workshop, 1969. 20 pp.
- Loyal, Naunihal Singh, trans. *Japji Sahib: Holy Inspired Writings of Guru Nanak*. New Delhi: author, 1961. 45 pp.
- Majithia, Surinder Singh, and Y. G. Krishnamurty, trans. *Japji: The Universal Home*. Gorakhpur: Lady Parsan Kaur Charitable Trust, 1967.
- Maunder, R. S., trans. *Message of Guru Nanak As Expressed in Jap Nisan*. Poona: author, 1965. 49 pp.
- Peace, M. L., trans. *Japji: Immortal Morning Prayer*. Ferozepur: D. S. Bhalla, n.d. 38 pp.
- Randhawa, G. S., trans. *Guru Nanak's Japu Ji*. Rev. ed. Amritsar: GNDU, 1990.
- Randhawa, G. S., and Charanjit Singh, trans. *Guru Nanak's Japji*. New Delhi: Navyug, 1970.
- Singh, Darshan, trans. *Japuji Sahib: Context and Concerns of Guru Nanak*. Chandigarh: Panjab University, 1978.
- Singh, Dewan. *Guru Nanak's Message in Japji*. Amritsar: Faqir Singh, 1972.
- Singh, Gopal, trans. *Songs of Guru Nanak: English Translation of Japji*. London: author, 1956.
- Singh, Gurbakhsh. *The Message of Japji*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 2002.
- Singh, Gurdial, trans. *Japji*. Delhi: GPC, 1969. 29 pp.
- Singh, Gursaran, trans. *Guru Nanak's Japji: The Morning Prayer of the Sikhs*. Delhi: Atma Ram, 1972.
- Singh, Harnam, trans. *The Japji*. New Delhi: Surindar Singh, 1957.
- Singh, Iqbal, trans. *The Essence of Truth: Japji and Other Sikh Scriptures*. New York: Allen, McMillan & Enderson, 1986.
- Singh, Jaswant, trans. *Japji or Guru Nanak's Conception of the Design of Existence*. Dehra Dun: translator, n.d.
- Singh, Jodh, trans. *Japji Translated into English*. Ludhiana: Lahore Book Shop, 1956.
- Singh, Khushwant, trans. *Jupji: The Sikh Prayer*. London: Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society, n.d. 23 pp.
- Singh, Kirpal, trans. *Japji: The Message of Guru Nanak*. Delhi: Ruhani Sat-sang, 1959.
- Singh, Manmohan. *Japji: First Hymn of Adi Granth*. Dehra Dun: Akaal.
- Singh, Mehar, trans. *Japji: The Morning Divine Service of the Sikhs*. New Delhi: Punjabi Sahit Kala Kendra, 1952.
- Singh, Narain, trans. *Jap of the Nam: Guru Nanak's Japji*. Amritsar: translator, n.d.
- Singh, Parkash, trans. *Guru Nanak and His Japji*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1969.
- Singh, Puran. *Japji of Guru Nanak and Internationalism of the Sikhs*. Amritsar: Shahid Sikh Missionary College, 1929. 23 pp.

- Singh, Puran, trans. *Guru Nanak's Japji or the Morning Meditation, and Sohila Arti Bed Time Prayer*. Amritsar: CKD, 1969. 26 pp.
- Singh, Puran, trans. *Japji Rendered into Beautiful English*. Lahore: Lahore Book Shop, 1945. 39 pp.
- Singh, Sangat, trans. *Japji*. Delhi: Hind Pocket Books, 1974.
- Singh, Sher, trans. *Japji or Sri Guru Nanak Devji's Master-Law*. Junagadh: Holy Publishers, 1950. 32 pp.
- Singh, Shiv Dayal, trans. *Japji Sahib*. Lahore: Gulab Singh, 1937.
- Singh, Sohan, trans. *The Seeker's Path: Being an Interpretation of Guru Nanak's Japji*. Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1959.
- Singh, Surinderjit, trans. *Japuji: Translation and Transliteration*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1986.
- Singh, Teja, trans. *The Japji or Guru Nanak's Meditation*. 5th ed. Lahore: Sikh Tract Society, 1964.
- Singh, Vir. *Sri Japji Sahib of Sri Guru Nanak Dev*. Translated into English by Gurbaksh Singh. Bombay: Veekay Weekly, 1968.
- Sirmoore, Hira Lal, trans. *Shri Japji Sahib Translated into English*. Patiala: translator, 1944. 47 pp.
- Talib, Gurbachan Singh, trans. *Japuji: The Immortal Prayer Chant*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1977.
- Varma, Sharad Chandra. *Guru Nanak and "The Logos of Divine Manifestation."* Delhi: GPC, 1969.

The Adi Granth: Other English Translations

- Anand, Reema, and Khushwant Singh, trans. *Rehras Evensong: The Sikh Evening Prayer*. New Delhi: Penguin, 2002.
- Bawa, Ujagar Singh, trans. *Japuji Sahib, Reharas Sahib, Anand Sahib, Kir-tan Sohila*. Washington: Washington Sikh Center, 1999.
- . *Sri Sukhmani Sahib*. Washington: Washington Sikh Center, 1997.
- . *Vaaran Bhai Gurdasji*. Washington: Washington Sikh Center, 1997.
- Chellaram, trans. *Barah Maha*. Sarproon: NBSM, 1965. 29 pp.
- . *Hymns of Guru Tegh Bahadur*. New Delhi: NBSM, 1966.
- Dass, Nirmal, trans. *Songs of the Saints from the Adi Granth*. Albany: SUNY, 2000.
- Doabia, Harbans Singh, trans. *Sacred Asa di Var (along with the Chants of Guru Ramdas)*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1988.
- . *Sacred Dialogues of Guru Nanak Dev Ji*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1994.
- . *Sacred Sukhmani*. 2nd ed. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1980.
- Duggal, Kartar Singh, trans. *The Holy Granth: Sri Guru Granth Sahib*. Vol. 1. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 2004.

- . *Prescribed Sikh Prayers (Nitnem)*. New Delhi: Abhinav, 1998.
- . *Selected Sikh Scriptures*. 4 vols. New Delhi: UBSPD, 1997–1999.
- . *A Selection from Sri Guru Granth Sahib and the Dasam Granth*. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1997.
- . *The Sukhmani*. New Delhi: UBSPD, 2000.
- Greenlees, Duncan. *Selections from the Adi Granth*. Adyar: Theosophical Publishing House, 1975.
- Guru Granth Ratnavali. *Text in Gurmukhi and Dev-nagari with English Translation*. Patiala: Punjabi University, n.d.
- Hawley, John Stratton, and Mark Juergensmeyer, trans. *Songs of the Saints of India*. New York: OUP, 1988.
- Kapoor, Sukhbir Singh, trans. *Baramah: The Twelve Months*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 1996.
- . *Bhagat Bani*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 2000.
- . *Jap Sahib, Swayas and Ardas*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 1995.
- . *Kirtan Sohila and Ardas*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 1995.
- Kapoor, Sukhbir Singh, and Mohinder Kaur Kapoor, trans. *Asa di Var*. New Delhi: Sterling, 2004.
- Kaur, Baljit. *Psalms of Hope: Poetic Exegesis of Bani of Shri Guru Tegh Bahadur*. Chandigarh: author, 1978.
- Kohli, Surindar Singh, trans. *Sikh Prayers: Japu, Rahrass, and Kirtan Sohila*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1995.
- Loyal, Naunihal Singh, trans. *Asa di Var: Early Morning Prayer of Guru Nanak*. New Delhi: translator, 1968.
- Loehlin, C. H., trans. *The Twelve Months by Guru Nanak*. Amritsar: SGPC, 1969.
- Mansukhani, Gobind Singh, trans. *Hymns from the Holy Granth*. Delhi: Hemkunt, 1975.
- Narang, Sampuran Singh, trans. *Rahrass Sahib and Kirtan Sohila*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 2003.
- Nishtar, Nanak Singh, trans. *Selections from Guru Granth Sahib*. Hyderabad: International Sikh Centre for Interfaith Relations, n.d.
- Puri, L. R. *Teachings of the Gurus (as given in the Adi Granth Sahib)*. 4 vols. Beas: Radhaswamy Satsang, 1962–1965.
- Rama, Swami, trans. *Sukhmani Sahib: Fountain of Eternal Joy*. Honesdale, PA: Himalayan, 1988.
- Sagar, B. M. *Songs of Ravi Das*. Chandigarh: Panjab University, 2004.
- Shan, Harnam Singh, trans. *Guru Nanak in His Own Words*. Amritsar: CKD, 1970.
- . *Sayings of Guru Nanak*. Amritsar: SGPC, 1969.
- Sharma, Chandra Prakash. *Divine Symphony: Hymns of Guru Tegh Bahadur in English Verse*. Patiala: Purnima, 1976.
- Sharma, G. L. *Anand Sahib*. Jalandhar: New Book, 1987.

- Singh, Daljit, trans. *Asa-di-War*. Ludhiana: translator, 1984.
- Singh, Harbans. *The Message of Sikhism*. Delhi: DSGMC, 1978.
- Singh, Harbhajan, comp. *Gems of Thoughts from Guru Nanak Bani*. Amritsar: Dharm Parchar Committee, 1971.
- Singh, Jodh, comp. *Gospel of Guru Nanak in His Own Words*. Patiala: LDP, 1969.
- Singh, Jodh, trans. *Thirty-three Swaiyas: Translated into English*. Ludhiana: Lahore Book Shop, 1953. 42 pp.
- Singh, Jogendra, comp. *Thus Spoke Guru Nanak: A Collection of the Sayings of Guru Nanak*. 2nd ed. Amritsar: CKD, 1967.
- Singh, Khushwant, trans. *Hymns of Guru Nanak*. New Delhi: Orient Longmans, 1969.
- . *Hymns of the Gurus*. New Delhi: Penguin, 2003.
- Singh, Lou. *The Nitnem and the Sukhmani Sahib*. New Delhi: Sterling, 1980.
- Singh, Manmohan, trans. *Hymns of Guru Nanak*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1971.
- . *Life of Shri Guru Nanak, Japji, and Asa de Var*. Dehradun: Jiwan Singh, 1972.
- Singh, Narain. *Anand Sahib*. Amritsar: Bhagat Puran Singh, n.d.
- Singh, Nikky-Guninder Kaur, trans. *The Name of My Beloved: Verses of the Sikh Gurus*. 1995. Reprint, New Delhi: Penguin, 2001.
- Singh, Sher, trans. *Guru Nanak on the Malady of Man*. Delhi: Sterling, 1968.
- Singh, Shumsher, trans. *Twelve Months by Sri Guru Nanak Dev ji and by Sri Guru Arjun Dev ji and Slokas (Couplets) by Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur ji*. Delhi: NBS, 1989.
- Singh, Sohan, trans. *Asa di Var: The Ballad of God and Man by Guru Nanak*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1982.
- Singh, Teja, trans. *Asa di Var or Guru Nanak's Ode in the Asa Measure*. Amritsar: SGPC, 1957.
- . *The Holy Granth: Sri Rag to Majh*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1985.
- . *The Psalm of Peace: An English Translation of Guru Arjun's "Sukhmani."* Madras: OUP, 1938.
- Singh, Trilochan, trans. *Hymns of Guru Tegh Bahadur: Songs of Nirvana*. Delhi: DSGMC, 1975.
- Singh, Trilochan, et al., trans. *Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1960.
- Singh, Wazir, ed. *The Sikh Prayer: Japji, Anand Sahib, Sukhmani*. Translated by Wazir Singh, G. S. Talib, and Teja Singh. Lucknow: Central Gurmat Parchar Board, 1982.
- Song of Eternal Bliss: Anand*. Bombay: Veekay Weekly, 1976.
- Talib, Gurbachan Singh, trans. *Bani of Sri Guru Amar Das*. New Delhi: Sterling, 1979.

- . *An Introduction to Sri Guru Granth Sahib*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1991.
- . *Selections from the Holy Granth*. Delhi: Vikas, 1975.
- . *Thus Spake Guru Amar Das*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1979.
- Trumpp, Ernest, trans. *Adi Granth or the Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs*. London: Allen & Trubner, 1877. Reprint, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1970.
- Tulsi, Baljit Kaur. *Psalms of Hope*. Chandigarh: SGTBCT, 1978.
- . *Revelation of Divine Bliss*. Chandigarh: SGTBCT, 1990.
- Vaudeville, Charlotte. *Kabir*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1974.
- . *A Weaver Called Kabir*. Delhi: OUP, 1993.

The Adi Granth: Historical and Exegetical

- Abrol, Zahid. *Farid-nama*. New Delhi: Ajanta, 2003.
- Alag, Sarup Singh. *An Introduction to Sri Guru Granth Sahib*. 4th ed. rev. Ludhiana: Alag-Shabad-Yug 1998.
- Anand, Balwant Singh. *Baba Farid*. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1975.
- Arora, R. K. *The Sacred Scripture: Symbol of Spiritual Synthesis*. New Delhi: Harman, 1988.
- Callewaert, Winand M., comp. *Index to the Sri Guru Granth Sahib*. 4 vols. New Delhi: Manohar, 1994. In Devanagari with English introduction.
- Callewaert, Winand M., and Peter G. Friedlander. *The Life and Works of Raidas*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1992.
- Chahal, Devinder Singh. *Jap: The Essence of Nanakian Philosophy*. Quebec: Institute for Understanding Sikhism, 2003.
- Dhillon, Balwant Singh. *Early Scriptural Tradition: Myth and Reality*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1999.
- , ed. *Studies on Guru Granth Sahib*. Amritsar: GNDU, 2004.
- Dhillon, N. S. *Pillars of Divine Philosophy: They Speak in the Holy Granth*. London: author, n.d.
- Godbole, Arvind S. *Philosophy of Sri Guru Grantha Sahibji*. Bangalore: author, 2004.
- Greenlees, Duncan. *The Gospel of the Guru-Granth Sahib*. Adyar: Theosophical Publishing House, 1952.
- Grewal, Jagjit Singh. *Imagery in the Adi Granth*. Chandigarh: Punjab Prakashan, 1986.
- Grewal, Manraj. *Dreams after Darkness*. New Delhi: Rupa, 2004.
- Kapoor, Mohinder Kaur. *Bhagat Bani in Guru Granth Sahib*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 2000.
- Kapoor, Sukhbir Singh. *Guru Granth Sahib: An Advanced Study*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 2002.

- . *Guru Granth Sahib: An Introductory Study*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 2001.
- Kaur, Gunindar. *The Guru Granth Sahib: Its Physics and Metaphysics*. New Delhi: Sterling, 1981.
- Kaur, Gurdeep. *Political Ethics of Guru Granth Sahib*. New Delhi: Deep & Deep, 2000.
- Kaur, Madanjit, and Piar Singh. *Guru Arjan and His Sukhmani*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1992.
- Kohli, Surindar Singh. *A Critical Study of the Adi Granth*. New Delhi: PWCIS, 1961. Reissued as *Guru Granth Sahib: An Analytical Study*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1992.
- . *Sikhism and Guru Granth Sahib*. Delhi: NBS, 1990.
- Mann, Gurinder Singh. *The Goindval Pothis: The Earliest Extant Source of the Sikh Canon*. Cambridge, MA: Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, Harvard University, 1996. Gurmukhi text with English introduction and notes.
- . *The Making of Sikh Scripture*. New York: OUP, 2001.
- Myrvold, Kristina, ed. *The Death of Sacred Texts: Ritual Disposal and Renovation of Texts in World Religions*. Surrey: Ashgate, 2010.
- Rahi, Hakim Singh. *Sri Guru Granth Sahib Discovered: A Reference Book of Quotations*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1999.
- Sambhi, Piara Singh. *The Guru Granth Sahib*. Discovering Sacred Text Series. Oxford: Heinemann, 1994.
- Sethi, H. S. *Egoism in the Adi Granth*. Delhi: Ajanta, 2001.
- Singh, Bachittar, ed. *Planned Attack on Aad Sri Guru Granth Sahib: Academics or Blasphemy?* Chandigarh: International Centre of Sikh Studies, 1994.
- Singh, Daljeet. *Essays on the Authenticity of Kartarpuri Bir and the Integrated Logic and Unity of Sikhism*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1987.
- Singh, Daljit, comp. *Voice of the Gurus*. Lahore: Model Electric Press, 1934.
- Singh, Darshan. *A Study of Bhakta Ravidas*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1987.
- Singh, Jodh. *Lectures on Sri Guru Granth Sahib*. Banaras: Banaras Hindu University, 1955.
- Singh, Kirpal. *Adi Guru Granth as a Source of History*. N.p.: Principal Iqbal Singh Memorial Trust, 1998. 76 pp.
- Singh, Kirpal, and Gurdev Singh, eds. *Importance of the Teachings of Sri Guru Granth Sahib in Present Era and Punjab Waters SYL Canal*. Delhi: Institute of Sikh Studies, 2002.
- Singh, Navtej, and Avtar Singh Johul, eds. *Emergence of the Image*. New Delhi: NBO, 2002.
- Singh, Pashaura. *The Bhagats of the Guru Granth Sahib*. New Delhi: OUP, 2003.

- . *The Guru Granth Sahib: Canon, Meaning, and Authority*. New Delhi: OUP, 2000.
- Singh, Piar. *Gatha Sri Adi Granth and the Controversy*. Michigan: Anant Education and Rural Development Foundation, 1996.
- Singh, Sahib. *About Compilation of Sri Guru Granth Sahib*. Translation of *Adi Bir Bare* by Dalip Singh. Amritsar: Lok Sahit Parkashan, 1996.
- Singh, Sutantar. *About Siri Guru Granth Sahib*. New Delhi: Young Sikh Cultural Association, 1978.
- Singh, Taran. *The Ideal Man of the Guru Granth*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1966. 14 pp.
- Talib, Gurbachan Singh, ed. *Perspectives on Sheikh Farid*. Patiala: Baba Farid Memorial Society, 1975.

The Dasam Granth

- Ashta, Dharam Pal. *The Poetry of the Dasam Granth*. New Delhi: Arun, 1959.
- Bedi, B. P. L., trans. *Unto Victory: Letter from the Last Sikh Guru to the Last Moghul Emperor, Zafarnamah of Guru Gohind Singh Maharaj Address to Emperor Aurangzeb*. New Delhi: Unity Book Club of India, 1957. Persian text with English translation and notes.
- Bedi, G. S., trans. *The Epistle of Victory: An English Translation of Zafarnama*. Amritsar: author, 1960.
- Bindra, Pritpal Singh. *Chritro Pakhyaan: Tales of Male-Female Tricky Deceptions from Sri Dasam Granth*. 2 vols. Amritsar: B. Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, 2002.
- Chahal, Davinder Singh. *Jap: The Essence of Nanakian Philosophy*. Quebec: Institute of Understanding Sikhism, 2003.
- Duggal, Devinder Singh, trans. *Fatehnama and Zafarnama*. Jullundur: Institute of Sikh Studies, 1980.
- Kohli, Surindar Singh, trans. *Sri Dasam Granth Sahib*. 3 vols. Birmingham: Sikh National Heritage Trust, 2003.
- Loehlin, C. H. *The Granth of Guru Gobind Singh and the Khalsa Brotherhood*. Lucknow: Lucknow Publishing House, 1971.
- Maghowalia, B. S., trans. *Bachittar Natak*. Hoshiarpur: translator, 1978.
- Mansukhani, Gobind Singh, trans. *Hymns from the Dasam Granth*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 1980.
- Nath, Surendra. *Jap*. New Delhi: Gobind Sadan, 1991.
- Nijhawan, P. K. *Sri Guru Gobind Geeta*. New Delhi: Army Education Store, 1985.
- Peace, M. L. trans. *Guru Gobind Singh's Akal Ustat Translated into English Verse*. Jullundur: author, 1963.

- Rama, Swami, trans. *Sri Guru Gobind Singh: The Cosmic Drama (Bichitra Natak)*. Honesdale, PA: Himalayan, 1989.
- Sekhon, Sant Singh, trans. *Unique Drama: Translation of Benati Chaupai, Bachitra Natak, and Akal Ustati*. Chandigarh: GGSF, 1968.
- Singh, Brijindar, trans. *The Jap, or Thoughts on Godhead, with Shabads and Swayyas by Guru Gobind Singh*. Amritsar: translator, 1925.
- Singh, Gopal, trans. *Thus Spake the Tenth Master*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1978.
- Singh, Jodh. *The Wondrous Play (Bachitar Natak)*. Patiala: Sikh Heritage, 2003.
- Singh, Jodh, and Dharam Singh, trans. *Sri Dasam Granth Sahib*. 2 vols. Patiala: Heritage, 1999. Text and translation.
- Singh, Kartar, trans. *The Epic of Chandi: Shri Guru Gobind Singh Ji*. Qadian: author, 1968. 39 pp.
- Singh, Surinderjit. *Guru Gobind Singh's Jap Sahib and other Hymns*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 2002.
- . *Guru Gobind Singh's Zafarnamah*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 2003.
- Singh, Trilochan, trans. *Guru Gobind Singh's Jap: Meditational Prayer*. Delhi: GPC, 1968. 48 pp.
- Tulsi, Baljit Kaur, trans. *Divine Effulgence of the Formless Lord: A Translation of Jap Sahib*. Chandigarh: SGTBCT, 1985.
- . *The Ramayana by Shri Guru Gobind Singh Ji*. Patiala: LDP, 1967.

General Religious Literature

- Bawa, Ujagar Singh, ed. *Biography and Writings of Bhai Sahib Bhai Nand Lal ji (English Translation)*. Gaithersburg, MD: Hemkunt Press, 2006.
- Bedi, B. P. L. *The Pilgrim's Way: Diwan of Bhai Nand Lal Goya*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1969. Translated from the Persian.
- Callewaert, W. M., and P. G. Friedlander. *The Life and Works of Raidas*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1992.
- Kaur, Kanwaljit, and Inderjit Singh, trans. *Rehat Maryada: A Guide to the Sikh Way of Life*. London: Sikh Cultural Society, 1969. 21 pp.
- Kaur, Premka, comp. *Peace Lagoon: The Songs of Guru Nanak, Guru Amar Dass, Guru Ram Dass, Guru Arjan and Guru Gobind Singh*. San Rafael, CA: Spiritual Community, 1974.
- Kohli, M. S. *Miracles of Ardaas*. New Delhi: Indus, 2003.
- Lajwanti, Rama Krishna. *Panjabi Sufi Poets, 1460–1900*. London: OUP, 1938.
- Loehlin, C. H. *The Sikhs and Their Book*. Lucknow: Lucknow Publishing House, 1946.

- . *The Sikhs and Their Scriptures*. Lucknow: Lucknow Publishing House, 1958.
- Lorenzen, David N., ed. *Religious Change and Cultural Domination*. Mexico: El Colegio de Mexico, 1981.
- Machwe, Prabhakar. *Namdev: Life and Philosophy*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1968.
- McLeod, W. H. *Early Sikh Tradition: A Study of the Janam-sakhis*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1980.
- McLeod, W. H., trans. *The B40 Janam-sakhi*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1980.
- . *The Chaupa Singh Rahit-nama*. Dunedin: University of Otago, 1987.
- . *Prem Sumarag: The Testimony of a Sanatan Sikh*. New Delhi: OUP, 2005.
- Maghowalia, B. S., trans. *An Extract from Diwan-i-Goya [of Nand Lal]*. Hoshiarpur: translator, 1979.
- Mansukhani, Gobind Singh. *A Book of Sikh Studies*. Delhi: NBS, 1989.
- Mansukhani, Gobind Singh, trans. *Hymns from Bhai Gurdas's Compositions*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1989.
- Sagar, Sabinderjit Singh. *Historical Analysis of Nanak Prakash: Bhai Santokh Singh*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1993.
- Schomer, Karine, and W. H. McLeod, eds. *The Sants: Studies in a Devotional Tradition of India*. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Religious Studies Series, 1987; Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987.
- Singh, Attar, trans. *The Rayhit Nama of Pralad Rai or the Excellent Conversation of the Duswan Padsha and Nand Lal's Rayhit Nama or Rules for the Guidance of the Sikhs in Religious Matters*. Lahore: Albert Press, 1876. Translated from the original Gurmukhi.
- . *Sakhee Book or the Description of Gooroo Gobind Singh's Religion and Doctrines: Translated from Gooroo Mukhi into Hindi, and afterwards into English*. Banaras: Medical Hall Press, 1873.
- Singh, Balwinder. *Fifty-two Commandments of Guru Gobind Singh*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 2004.
- Singh, Fauja, ed. *Hukamnamas Shri Guru Tegh Bahadur Sahib*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1976. Punjabi, Hindi, English.
- Singh, Jodh. *Kabir*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1971.
- Singh, Manjit. *Gurbani and Science: A Study*. Delhi: Gurdas Kapur, 1973.
- Singh, Narendra Pal. *Gleanings from the Masters*. Calcutta: Sikh Cultural Centre, 1965.
- Singh, Nirbhai. *Bhagata Namadeva in the Guru Grantha*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1981.
- Singh, Ranbir. *The Sikh Way of Life*. New Delhi: India Publishers, 1968.
- Singh, S. P., ed. *Guru Granth: A Perspective*. Amritsar: GNDU, 2004.
- . *Inner Dynamics of Guru Granth Sahib*. Amritsar: GNDU, 2004.

- Singh, Sampooran. *Song of the Khalsa: The Song of the Pure Man of God*. Jodhpur: Faith, 1978.
- Singh, Wazir. *Focus on Religion and Sikh Thought*. Delhi: NBS, 2003.
- Talib, Gurbachan Singh. *Baba Sheikh Farid Shakar Ganj*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, 1974.
- Talib, Gurbachan Singh, ed. *Baba Sheikh Farid: Life and Teachings*. New Delhi: Baba Farid Memorial Society, 1973.
- . *The Sikh-Sufi Quest for Harmony: A Symposium*. Patiala: Baba Farid Memorial Society, 1980.

ANALYSIS AND APOLOGETICS

Inquiry and Analysis

- Ahluwalia, Jasbir Singh. *Liberating Sikhism from the Sikhs*. Chandigarh: Unistar Books, 2003.
- . *Metaphysical Problems of Sikhism*. Chandigarh: Godwin, 1976.
- . *Sikhism Today: The Crisis Within and Without*. Chandigarh: GGSF, 1987.
- . *Sovereignty of the Sikh Doctrine*. New Delhi: Bahri, 1983.
- Cole, W. Owen. *Thinking about Sikhism*. London: Lutterworth, 1980.
- Cole, W. Owen, and P. S. Sambhi. *Meeting Sikhism*. London: Longman, 1980. 49 pp.
- Duggal, K. S. *Secular Perceptions in Sikh Faith*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, India, 1982.
- Dusenbery, V. A., and Darshan Singh Tatla, eds. *Sikh Diaspora Philanthropy in Punjab: Global Giving for Local Good*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Fenech, Louis E. *Martyrdom in the Sikh Tradition*. New Delhi: OUP, 2000.
- Grewal, J. S. *Contesting Interpretations of the Sikh Tradition*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1998.
- . *Historical Perspectives on Sikh Identity*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1997.
- . *Present State of Sikh Studies*. Batala: CISS, 1973.
- Kaur, Gurnam, ed. *Sikh Perspective of Human Values*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1998.
- . *Sikh Value System and Social Change*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1995.
- McLeod, W. H. *The Evolution of the Sikh Community*. Delhi: OUP, 1975. Reprint, Oxford: Clarendon, 1976.

- . *The Sikhs: History, Religion, and Society*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989.
- . *Who Is a Sikh? The Problem of Sikh Identity*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1989; New Delhi: OUP, 1989.
- . *Exploring Sikhism: Aspects of Sikh Identity, Culture, and Thought*. New Delhi: OUP, 2000.
- Mann, Jasbir Singh, and Harbans Singh Saraon, eds. *Advanced Studies in Sikhism*. Irvine, CA: Sikh Community of North America, 1989.
- Mann, Jasbir Singh, and Kharak Singh, eds. *Recent Researches in Sikhism*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1992.
- Singh, Attar. *Secularism and Sikh Faith*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1973. 28 pp.
- Singh, Darshan. *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*. New Delhi: Sehgal, 1991.
- Singh, Gurbhagat. *Sikhism and Postmodern Thought*. Delhi: Ajanta, 1999.
- Singh, Gurdev, ed. *Perspectives on the Sikh Tradition*. Chandigarh: Sidharth, 1986.
- Singh, I. J. *The Sikh Way: A Pilgrim's Progress*. Guelph: Centennial Foundation, 2001.
- . *Sikhs and Sikhism: A View with a Bias*. Columbia, MO: South Asia Books, 1994; New Delhi: Manohar, 1994.
- Singh, Inder Pal. *Education, Dharma, and Life*. Amritsar: B. Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, 2002.
- Singh, Jagjit. *In the Caravan of Revolution: Another Perspective View of the Sikh Revolution*. Sirhind: Lokgeet Prakashan, 1988.
- . *Perspectives on Sikh Studies*. New Delhi: GNF, 1985.
- . *The Sikh Revolution: A Perspective View*. New Delhi: Bahri, 1981.
- Singh, Jodh, ed. *Sikh Religion and Human Civilization*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1999.
- . *Some Studies in Sikhism*. Ludhiana: Lahore Book Shop, 1953.
- Singh, Kharak, et al., eds. *Fundamental Issues in Sikh Studies*. Chandigarh: Institute of Sikh Studies, 1992.
- Singh, Khushwant. *Need for a New Vision in India and Other Essays*. Edited by Rohini Singh. New Delhi: UBSPD, 1991.
- Singh, Khushwant, and Bipan Chandra. *Many Faces of Communalism*. Chandigarh: CRRID, 1985.
- Singh, Trilochan. *Ernest Trumpp and W. H. McLeod as Scholars of Sikh History, Religion, and Culture*. Chandigarh: International Institute of Sikh Studies, 1994.
- Singh, Vazir. *Focus on Religion and Sikh Thought*. Delhi: National Book Shop, 2003.

Apologetics

- Ahluwalia, Jasbir Singh. *Liberating Sikhism from the Sikhs*. Chandigarh: Unistar, 2003.
- Caveeshar, Sardul Singh. *The Sikh Studies*. Lahore: National Publications, 1937.
- Dalawari, Bhagwant Singh. *Experienced Truth of the Master's Word*. Amritsar: B. Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, 2004.
- Dhillon, Gurdarshan Singh. *Insights into Sikh Religion and History*. Chandigarh: Singh & Singh, 1992.
- . *Religion and Politics: The Sikh Perspective*. Chandigarh: author, 1989.
- . *Researches in Sikh Religion and History*. Chandigarh: Sumeet, 1989.
- Dhillon, N. S. *Practical Sikhism*. London: author, 1980.
- Dilgeer, Harjinder Singh. *Who Are the Sikhs?* Edmonton: Sikh Educational Trust, 2000.
- Gill, Kirpal Singh. *Vibrant Celestial Meditation*. New Delhi: NBO, 2002.
- Gill, Pritam Singh. *Concept of Sikhism*. Jullundur: New Academic, 1979.
- Guleria, J. S. *Rediscovering Religion*. New Delhi: PWCIS, 1983.
- Johar, Surinder Singh. *The Message of Sikhism*. Delhi: DSGMC, 1982.
- . *The Universal Faith*. Delhi: NBS, 1987.
- Josh, Mahinder Singh. *An Analytical Study of the Propagation of Sikh Thought*. New Delhi: Sikh Missionary College, n.d.
- Kapoor, S. S. *Being a Sikh*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 1990.
- . *Philosophy, Facts, and Fundamentals of the Sikh Religion*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 1994.
- Kapoor, Sukhbir Singh. *Gurbani: God's Word*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 1995.
- . *Ideal Man: Guru Gobind Singh's Concept of a Saint Soldier*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 1989.
- . *Saint Soldier*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 1999.
- Kaur, Sahib. *Sikh Thought*. New Delhi: author, 1990.
- Kohli, Surindar Singh. *Sikh Predictions*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1998.
- . *Strange but True in Sikhism*. Delhi: NBS, 2001.
- Majithia, Surinder Singh, and Y. G. Krishnamurty. *The Sikh Life-view*. Sardar Nagar: Lady Parsan Kaur Charitable Trust, 1963.
- Makin, Gurbachan Singh. *The Eternal Bliss*. Ludhiana: Lahore Book Shop, 2003.
- Maskeen, Sant Singh. *Lectures of Maskeen Ji*. Edited by Anokh Singh. Singapore: editor, 1977.
- Peace, M. L. *Life and Light of Sikhism*. Jullundur: author, 1962.
- Sahota, Sohan Singh. *The Destiny of the Sikhs*. Jullundur: Sterling, 1971.

- Sambhi, Piara Singh. *Understanding your Sikh Neighbour*. London: Lutterworth, 1980.
- Sethi, Amarjit Singh. *Sikhism in the West: The Path to Ethical and Spiritual Transformation*. Ottawa: Universal, 1996.
- . *Universal Sikhism*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 1972.
- Singh, Ajit, and Rajinder Singh, eds. *Glimpses of the Sikh Religion*. Delhi: NBS, 1988.
- Singh, Ardaman. *One Guru One Movement*. Patiala: Guru Nanak Mission, 1978.
- Singh, Balkar, ed. *Essential Postulates of Sikhism*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1988.
- Singh, Choor. *Understanding Sikhism*. Singapore: Central Sikh Gurdwara Board, 1995. 55 pp.
- Singh, Dalip. *Universal Sikhism: An Aid to Moral Upliftment*. New Delhi: Bahari, 1979.
- Singh, Daljeet. *Essentials of Sikhism*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1994.
- . *The Sikh Heritage: A Search for Totality*. New Delhi: Prakash, 2004.
- Singh, Darshan. *Sikhism: Issues and Institutions (in the Context of Dr. W. H. McLeod, Dr. Pashaura Singh, Dr. H. S. Oberoi and the likes)*. New Delhi: Sehgal, 1996.
- Singh, Dharam. *Sikhism Norm and Form*. Patiala: Vision & Venture, 1997.
- Singh, Gajindar. *Lest We the Sikhs Go Astray*. Mohali: Manbir G. Singh, 2004.
- Singh, Gopal. *Religion and Society: A Collection of Essays by Dr. Gopal Singh*. Edited by Mohinder Singh. Delhi: Dr. Gopal Singh Memorial Foundation, 1991.
- Singh, Gurbachan. *Sikhs: Faith, Philosophy, and Folk*. New Delhi: Roli, 1998.
- Singh, Gurbakhsh. *The Sikh Faith: Questions and Answers*. Amritsar: SGPC, 1997.
- . *The Sikh Faith: A Universal Message*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1997.
- . *Sikh Faith for the Youth*. Richardson, TX: Sikh Study Circle DFW, 1990.
- Singh, Gurpreet. *Soul of Sikhism*. New Delhi: Fusion, 2003.
- Singh, Harkishen, ed. *The Sikhs: Tenets and Tremors*. New Delhi: n.p., n.d.
- Singh, Jodh. *Indifference to Religion and Its Causes*. Lahore: Sikh Tract Society, 1929.
- . *Miracle of Sikhism*. Ludhiana: Sahitya Sangam, 1970.
- Singh, Joginder. *Gurbani: The Elixir of Life*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 2003.
- Singh, Kapur. *Me Judice*. Amritsar: B. Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, 2003.

- . *Sikhism: An Oecumenical Religion*. Edited by Gurtej Singh. Chandigarh: Institute of Sikh Studies, 1993.
- . *Sikhism for Modern Man*. Edited by Madanjit Kaur and Piar Singh. Amritsar: GNDU, 1992.
- Singh, Kartar. *Rekindling of the Sikh Heart*. Lahore: Lahore Book Shop, 1945.
- Singh, Khushdeva. *Lasting Solution of Punjab Problems*. Patiala: Guru Nanak Mission, n.d.
- Singh, Kirpal, ed. *Institutional Failure in Punjab with Respect to Sikhism and Missing Sikh Prisoners*. Chandigarh: Institute of Sikhs Studies, 2002.
- Singh, Lou [Khalsa Angrez]. *Is Sikhism the Way for Me?* Selangor, Malaysia: New Approach Mission for Occidental Sikhism, 1985.
- Singh, Mehervan. *Sikhism: Its Impact*. Singapore: Chopmen, 1973.
- Singh, Puran. *The Spirit-Born People*. Peshawar: Zurawar Singh, 1929. Reprint, Patiala: Punjabi University, 1990.
- . *Spirit of the Sikh*. [1930–1931]. Reprint, 3 vols. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1978–1981.
- Singh, Rup. *Sikhism: A Universal Religion*. Amritsar: Coronation Printing Works, 1913. 38 pp.
- Singh, Sarup. *Forgotten Panth*. Amritsar: Sikh Religious Book Society, 1954. 29 pp.
- Singh, Taran, ed. *Sikh Gurus and the Indian Spiritual Thought*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1981.
- Singh, Teja. *Essays in Sikhism*. Lahore: Sikh University Press, 1944.
- . *Growth of Responsibility in Sikhism*. 6th ed. Bombay: Forward, 1948.
- Singh, Trilochan. *Responsibility of Sikh Youth in the Context of Human and Political Situation in the East and West*. New Delhi: Light & Life, 1981.
- Vaswani, T. L. *In the Sikh Sanctuary*. Madras: Ganesh, 1922.

SECTS AND OTHER RELIGIONS

Sects

- Ahluwalia, M. M. *Kukas: The Freedom Fighters of the Punjab*. Bombay: Allied, 1965.
- Bajwa, Fauja Singh [Singh, Fauja]. *Kuka Movement: An Important Phase in Punjab's Role in India's Struggle for Freedom*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965.
- Bali, Yogendra, and Kalika Bali. *The Warriors in White: Glimpses of Kooka History*. New Delhi: Har Anand, 1995.

- Gargi, Balwant. *Nihangs: Knight Errants of the Guru*. Chandigarh: Punjab Tourism Department, 1975.
- . *Nirankari Baba*. Delhi: Thomson, 1973.
- Gian Singh, Giani. *Namdhari Sikhs: A Brief Account as Narrated by Giani Gian Singh*. Translated by Haribhajan Singh. Sri Jiwan Nagar: Harbans Singh, 1988.
- Jolly, Surjit Kaur. *Sikh Revivalist Movements: The Nirankari and Namdhari Movements in Punjab in the Nineteenth Century*. New Delhi: Gitanjali, 1988.
- Kaur, Beant. *The Namdhari Sikhs*. London: Namdhari Sikhs Historical Museum, 1999.
- Sikhism and the Nirankari Movement*. Patiala: Academy of Sikh Religion and Culture, 1990.
- Singh, Ganda. *Sikhism and Nirankari Movement*. Patiala: Guru Nanak Dev Mission, 1978. 32 pp.
- Singh, Gurmit. *Sant Khalsa: The Kuka Sikhs*. Sirsa: Usha Institute of Religious Studies, 1978.
- Singh, Jaswinder, ed. *Kuka Movement: Freedom Struggle in the Punjab*. New Delhi: Atlantic, 1985.
- . *Kukas of Note in the Punjab*. Sri Bhaini Sahib: Namdhari Darbar, 1985.
- Singh, Joginder. *A Short History of Namdhari Sikhs of Punjab*. Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University Press, 2010.
- Singh, Nahar. *Short Account of the Kukas or Namdharis*. Ludhiana: author, n.d. 18 pp.
- Singh, Nahar, ed. *Gooroo Ram Singh and the Kuka Sikhs: Rebels against the British Power in India. Documents 1863–1880*. 3 vols. New Delhi: Amrit, 1965–1966; Sri Jiwan Nagar: Namdhari History Research Society, 1967.
- Singh, Nahar, and Kirpal Singh, eds. *Rebels against the British Rule*. Vol. 1, *Guru Ram Singh and the Kuka Sikhs*. Vol. 2, *Bhai Maharaj Singh*. New Delhi: Atlantic, 1989–1990.
- Singh, Sulakhan. *Heterodoxy in the Sikh Tradition*. Jalandhar: ABS Publications, 1999.
- Webster, John C. B. *The Nirankari Sikhs*. Delhi: Macmillan, 1979.

Sikhism and Other Religions

- Ahmed Shah, E. *Sikhism and the Christian Faith*. Lucknow: Lucknow Publishing House, n.d.
- Ahuja, N. D. *Essence and Fragrance: A Comparative Study of Islam and Sikhism*. Chandigarh: International, 1975.
- . *Great Guru Nanak and Muslims*. Chandigarh: Kirti, 1974.

- . *Islam and the Creed of Guru Nanak*. Chandigarh: Vee Vee, 1972.
- . *The Muslim Attitude towards Nanak*. Chandigarh: Vee Vee, n.d.
- . *Muslim Sikh Relations: The Truth and the Case for Reappraisal*. Chandigarh: Vee Vee, n.d.
- Archer, John Clark. *The Sikh in Relation to Hindus, Muslims, Christians, and Ahmadiyyas: A Study in Comparative Religion*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946.
- Barrow, Joy, ed. *Meeting Sikhs*. Leicester: Christians Aware, 1998.
- Bigelow, Anna. *Sharing the Sacred: Practicing Pluralism in Muslim North India*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Birch, John M. *The Sikhs in Canada: A Christian Perspective*. Boring, OR: InterAct Ministries, 1993.
- Cole, W. Owen, and P. S. Sambhi. *Sikhism and Christianity: A Comparative Study*. London: Macmillan, 1993.
- Das, Sunil Kumar. *Sri Caitanya and Guru Nanak: A Comparative Study of Vaishnavism and Sikhism*. Calcutta: Rabindra Bharati University, 1985.
- Fremantle, Richard. *British Embracing Sikhism*. New Delhi: Sikh Information and Missionary Society, 1949.
- Hira, Bhagat Singh. *Indian Religious Thought and Sikhism*. New Delhi: Bhagat Singh Hira, 1987.
- . *Semitic Religious Thought and Sikhism*. Delhi: NBS, 1992.
- Kapoor, Sukhbir Singh. *The Ideal Man: The Concept of Guru Gobind Singh, the Tenth Prophet of the Sikhs*. London: Khalsa College London Press, 1987.
- Kohli, Surindar Singh. *Sikhism and Major World Religions*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1995.
- . *Yoga of the Sikhs*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1991.
- Loehlin, C. H. *The Christian Approach to the Sikh*. London: Edinburgh House Press, 1966.
- Mann, Gurinder Singh, Paul David Numrich, and Raymond B. Williams. *Buddhists, Hindus, and Sikhs in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Pincott, Frederic. *Sikhism in Relation to Mohammadanism*. London: W. H. Allen, 1885.
- Puri, Gopal Singh. *Multicultural Society and Sikh Faith*. New Delhi: Falcon, 1992.
- Raju, Karam Singh. *Ethical Perceptions of World Religions*. Amritsar: GNDU, 2002.
- Rohi, Rajinder Singh. *Semitic and Sikh Monotheism: A Comparative Study*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1999.
- Santhanathan, S. M., et al. *Hindu-Sikh Conflict in Punjab: Causes and Cure*. Bangalore: Sri Guru Singh Sabha, 1983. 28 pp.

- Seagrim, Dudley. *Notes on Hindus and Sikhs*. Allahabad: Pioneer, 1895. 31 pp.
- Sidhu, G. S. *The Sikh Religion and Christianity*. Aspley, UK: Sewak Society.
- Sidhu, G. S, and Gurmukh Singh. *Sikh Religion and Islam*. Berkeley: Khalsa Tri-centennial.
- Singh, Dalip. *Yoga and Sikh Teachings: Some Basic Questions*. New Delhi: Bahri, 1979.
- Singh, Daljeet. *Sikh Ideology*. New Delhi: GNF, 1984.
- . *Sikhism: A Comparative Study of Its Theology and Mysticism*. New Delhi: Sterling, 1979.
- Singh, Darshan. *Sikhism among the Religions of the World*. New Delhi: Sehgal, 1997.
- Singh, Darshan, ed. *Guru Granth Sahib among the Scriptures of the World*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 2004.
- Singh, Gurmit. *A Critique of Sikhism*. Sirsa: Ishar Singh Satnam Singh, 1964.
- . *Islam and Sikhism: A Comparative Study*. Sirsa: Usha Institute of Religious Studies, 1966.
- Singh, Santokh. *Consciousness as Ultimate Principle*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1985.
- Singh, Trilochan. *Guru Nanak's Religion: A Comparative Study of Religions*. Delhi: Rajkamal, 1968. 34 pp.
- . *Sikhism and the Six Hindu Systems*. Amritsar: B. Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, 2000.
- Sobti, Harcharan Singh. *Studies in Buddhism and Sikhism*. Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers, 1986.
- Thornton, D. M. *Parsi, Jaina and Sikh: Some Minor Religious Sects in India*. London: Religious Tract Society, 1898. Reprint, Delhi: Mittal, 1987.
- Walji Bhai. *Hari Charitra or a Comparison between the Adi Granth and the Bible*. Lodhiana: Lodhiana Mission Press, 1893.

SOCIETY

Sikh Society

- Ahluwalia, Sadhu Singh. *Economic Conditions of the Sikhs*. Poona: Poona University, 1959.
- Basarke, Alice. *Her Story: Women in Sikh Religion and History*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 2002.
- Chauhan, Ramesh K. *Punjab and the Nationality Question in India*. New Delhi: Deep & Deep, 1995.

- Chopra, Kanchan. *Agricultural Development in Punjab: Issues in Resource Use and Sustainability*. Delhi: Vikas, 1990.
- Datta, Nonica. *Forming an Identity: A Social History of the Jats*. Delhi: OUP, 1999.
- Duggal, K. S. *The Sikh People Yesterday and Today*. New Delhi: UBSPD, 1994.
- Gill, M.K. *The Role and Status of Women in Sikhism*. Delhi: NBS, n.d. [1997].
- Gill, Pritam Singh. *Heritage of Sikh Culture: Society, Morality, Art*. Jullundur: New Academic, 1975.
- Gupta, Dipankar. *The Context of Ethnicity: Sikh Identity in a Comparative Perspective*. Delhi: OUP, 1996.
- Hershman, Paul. *Punjabi Kinship and Marriage*. Edited by Hilary Standing. Delhi: Hindustan, 1981.
- Ibbetson, Denzil. *Punjab Castes*. Lahore: Government Printing, 1916.
- Izmirlan, Harry, Jr. *The Politics of Passion: Structure and Strategy in Sikh Society*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1979.
- Jakobsh, Doris R. *Relocating Gender in Sikh History: Transformation, Meaning, and Identity*. New Delhi: OUP, 2003.
- Jakobsh, Doris R., ed. *Sikhism and Women: History, Texts, and Experience*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Johar, R. S., and J. S. Khanna, eds. *Studies in Punjab Economy*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1983.
- Juergensmeyer, Mark. *Religion as Social Vision: The Movement against Untouchability in 20th Century Punjab*. Berkeley: University of California, 1982. Republished as *Religious Rebels in the Punjab*. Delhi: Ajanta, 1988.
- Kapoor, Sukhbir Singh, and Mohinder Kaur Kapoor. *The Sikh Law Book*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 2004.
- Kaur, Barindera. *On Sikh Identity*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 2001.
- Kaur, Bhupinder. *Status of Women in Sikhism*. Amritsar: SGPC, 2000. 80 pp.
- Kaur, Jitinder. *Punjab Crisis: The Political Perceptions of Rural Voters*. Delhi: Ajanta, 1989.
- Kaur, Madanjit. *Co-existence in a Pluralistic Society*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1991.
- Kaur, Rajinder. *Sikh Identity and National Integration*. New Delhi: Intellectual, 1992.
- Kaur, Upinder Jit. *Sikh Religion and Economic Development*. New Delhi: NBO, 1990.
- Kessinger, Tom G. *Vilyatpur 1848–1968: Social and Economic Change in a North Indian Village*. Berkeley: University of California, 1974.
- Leaf, J. Murray. *Information and Behavior in a Sikh Village: Social Organization Reconsidered*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.

- Lekbi, R. K., and Joginder Singh. *Punjab Economy*. Ludhiana: Kalyani, 1986.
- McMullen, Clarence O. *Religious Beliefs and Practices of the Sikhs in Rural Punjab*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1989.
- Mann, Baltej Singh, ed. *National Integration and Communal Harmony*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 2004.
- Marenco, Ethne K. *Transformation of Sikh Society*. New Delhi: Heritage, 1976.
- Mir, Farina, *The Social Space of Language: Vernacular Culture in British Colonial Punjab*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.
- Mir, Farina, and Anshu Malhotra, eds. *Punjab Reconsidered: History, Culture, and Practice*. New Delhi: OUP, 2011.
- Mooney, Nicola. *Rural Nostalgia & Transnational Dreams: Identity and Modernity Among Jat Sikhs*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011.
- Nihang, Nidar Singh, and Parmjit Singh. *In the Master's Presence: The Sikhs of Hazoor Sahib Volume 1: History*. London: Kashi House, 2008.
- Pettigrew, Joyce. *Robber Noblemen: A Study of the Political System of the Sikh Jats*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975.
- Puri, Harish K., ed. *Dalits in Regional Context*. Jaipur: Rawat, 2004.
- Rao, Venkateswar. *Sikhs and India: Identity Crisis*. Hyderabad: Sri Satya, 1991.
- Saberwal, Satish. *Mobile Men: Limits to Social Change in Urban Punjab*. New Delhi: Vikas, 1976.
- Sikhism and Indian Society*. Transactions of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study. Simla: IAS, 1967.
- Singh, G. B. *Transformation of Agriculture: A Case Study of Punjab*. Kurukshetra: Vishal, 1979.
- [Singh, Ganda]. *History of the Khalsa College, Amritsar*. Amritsar: Khalsa College, 1949.
- Singh, Harjinder. *Authority and Influence in Two Sikh Villages*. New Delhi: Sterling, 1976.
- Singh, Jagjit. *Dynamics of Sikh Revolution*. Chandigarh: Institute of Sikh Studies, 2000.
- Singh, Jodh. *Caste and Untouchability in Sikhism*. Amritsar: SGPC, 1976.
- Singh, Lakshman. *Decay of Sikh Institutions: Sanatanis and the Sikhs*. Lahore: STS, 1916. 44 pp.
- Singh, Nihal, ed. *Young Men's Sikh Association, 1931–1956*. Silver Jubilee Prakashan, 1965.
- Singh, Pashaura, and N. Gerald Barrier, eds. *Sikh Identity: Continuity and Change*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1999.
- Singh, Rattan. *Revolt of the Sikh Youth*. Lahore: Modern, 1948.
- Singh, Wazir, ed. *Religious Pluralism and Co-existence*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1986.

- Tiwana, Jagpal Singh, ed. *The Maritime Sikh Society: Origin and Growth*. Halifax: Maritime Sikh Society, 2000.
- Virdi, Harbans Singh. *Sikh Olympians and Internationals*. Amritsar: SGPC, 1992.
- . *The Sikhs in Sports*. Delhi: DSGMC, 1982.

Sikh Politics

- Bajwa, Harcharan Singh. *Fifty Years of Punjab Politics (1920–1970)*. Chandigarh: Modern, 1979.
- Brar, J. S. *The Communist Party in Punjab: The Politics of Survival*. New Delhi: NBO, 1989.
- Brass, Paul R. *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*. New Delhi: Sage, 1991.
- . *Language, Religion, and Politics in North India*. Cambridge: CUP, 1974.
- Chaddah, Mehar Singh. *Are Sikhs a Nation?* Delhi: DSGMC, 1982.
- Chand, Attar. *Jawaharlal Nehru and Politics in Punjab*. New Delhi: H. K. Publishers & Distributors, 1989.
- Deol, Harnik. *Religion and Nationalism in India: The Case of the Punjab*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Dhami, M. S. *Minority Leaders' Image of the Indian Political System: An Exploratory Study of the Attitudes of Akali Leaders*. New Delhi: Sterling, 1975.
- Dilgir, Harjinder Singh. *Shiromani Akali Dal*. Chandigarh: Rachna, 1980.
- Gandhi, Surjit Singh. *Perspectives on Sikh Gurudwaras Legislation*. New Delhi: Atlantic, 1993.
- Grewal, J. S. *The Akalis: A Short History*. Chandigarh: Punjab Studies Publications, 1996.
- Gulati, Kailash Chander. *The Akalis Past and Present*. New Delhi: Ashajanak, 1974.
- Kaur, Jitinder. *The Politics of Sikhs: A Study of Delhi Sikh Gurdwara Management Committee*. New Delhi: NBO, 1986.
- Mahmood, Cynthia, and Stacy Brady. *The Guru's Gift*. Mountainview, CA: Mayfield, 2000.
- Malhotra, Anshu. *Gender, Caste, and Religious Identities: Restructuring Class in Colonial Punjab*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Misra, Madhu Sudan. *Politics of Regionalism in India with Special Reference to Punjab*. New Delhi: Deep & Deep, 1988.
- Narang, A. S. *Storm over the Sutlej: The Akali Politics*. New Delhi: Gitanjali, 1983.

- Nayar, Baldev Raj. *Minority Politics in the Punjab*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.
- Oren, Stephen. *Sikhs and the Punjab Politics, 1921–1947*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1964.
- Prithi, Raj, and Bela Rani Sharma, eds. *Sikhism and Women*. New Delhi: Anmol, 1995.
- Puri, Harish K., and Paramjit S. Judge, eds. *Social and Political Movements: Readings on Punjab*. Jaipur: Rawat, 2000.
- Puri, Nina. *Political Elite and Society in the Punjab*. New Delhi: Vikas, 1985.
- Rahi, M. S. *Racial Discrimination: The Sikhs and Their Future*. Chandigarh: Singh Legal Foundation, 2001.
- Sandhu, Devinder Pal. *Sikhs in Indian Politics: Study of Minority*. New Delhi: Patriot, 1992.
- Shourie, Arun. *Religion in Politics*. New Delhi: Roli, 1987.
- Sidhu, Lakhwinder Singh. *Party Politics in Punjab*. New Delhi: Harman, 1994.
- Singh, Birinder Pal. *Violence as Political Discourse*. Shimla: IIAS, 2002.
- Singh, Dalip. *Dynamics of Punjab Politics*. New Delhi: Macmillan, 1981.
- Singh, Gobinder. *Religion and Politics in the Punjab*. New Delhi: Deep & Deep, 1986.
- Singh, Gurharpal. *Communism in Punjab*. Delhi: Ajanta, 1994.
- . *Ethnic Conflict in India: A Case Study of Punjab*. New York: St. Martin's, 2000.
- Singh, Gurharpal, and Ian Talbot, eds. *Punjabi Identity: Continuity and Change*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1996.
- Singh, Gurmit. *Gandhi and the Sikhs*. Sirsa: Usha Institute of Religious Studies, 1969.
- Singh, Gurnam. *A Unilingual Punjabi State and the Sikh Unrest*. New Delhi: Super Press, 1960.
- Singh, Harbans. *Nehru Family and the Sikhs*. New Delhi: B. R. Publishing, 1984.
- . *Sikh Political Parties*. New Delhi: Sikh Publishing House, n.d.
- Singh, Hukam. *Sikh Problem and Its Solution: An Elucidation*. Amritsar: Shiromani Akali Dal, n.d. [1951]. 49 pp.
- Singh, Iqbal. *Facts about Akali Agitation in Punjab*. Chandigarh: Fairdeal, 1960.
- Singh, Jaswant. *The Lubanas in the Punjab: Social, Economic and Political Change, 1849–1947*. Begowal, Kapurthala: Murabia, 1998.
- Singh, Kehar, ed. *Perspectives on Sikh Polity*. New Delhi: Dawn, 1993.
- Singh, Kharak, ed. *On Sikh Personal Law*. Chandigarh: Institute of Sikh Studies, 1998.

- Singh, Khazan. *Warning to the Panth*. Edited by Manjit Singh. New Delhi: editor, 1972. 27 pp.
- Singh, Khushdeva. *Sikh Religion and Satyagraha*. Patiala: GGSF, 1972.
- Singh, Pritam, and Shinder S. Thandi, eds. *Globalisation and the Region: Explorations in Punjabi Identity*. Coventry: Association for Punjabi, 1996.
- Singh, Sher. *Sikhism and Politics*. Ludhiana: Chardi Kala, n.d.
- Singh, Sutantar. *Non-violence and the Sikhs*. Delhi: Rachna, 1975.
- Wallace, Paul, and Surendra Chopra, eds. *Political Dynamics of Punjab*. Rev. ed. Amritsar: GNDU, 1988.
- Yadav, Kripal C. *Elections in Panjab, 1920–1947*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1987.

Biography and Autobiography

- Ahuja, Ajay. *Manmohan Singh CEO, India Inc.* New Delhi: Pentagon, 2004.
- Amrita Pritam. *Life and Times*. New Delhi: Vikas, 1989.
- Anand, G. S., ed. *Dr. Balbir Singh Smriti Granth*. Dehradun: Dr. Balbir Singh Sahitya Kendra, 1976.
- Anand, Reema. *His Sacred Burden*. Bhagat Puran Singh. Delhi: Ajanta, 2001.
- Archer, J. C. *John Clark Archer: A Chronicle*. Hamden, CT: Cathaline Alford Archer, 1958.
- Badal, Parkash Singh. *Chief Minister of Punjab*. Edited by S. R. Bakshi. New Delhi: APH, 1998.
- Bakshi, S. R. *Bhagat Singh*. New Delhi: Anmol, 1990.
- Barque, A. M., and T. S. Khosla. *Eminent Sikhs of Today*. Lahore: Barque, 1942.
- Deol, Gurdev Singh. *Bhagat Singh: A Biography*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1969.
- . *Shaheed-i-Azam Sardar Bhagat Singh*. Nabha: Deep Parkashan, 1978.
- . *Sir Sunder Singh Majithia*. Amritsar: Khalsa College, 1992.
- Doabia, Harbans Singh. *Life Stories of the Sikh Saints*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1995.
- . *Life Story of Baba Nand Singh Ji of Kaleran*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1981.
- . *Life Story of Sant Attar Singh Ji (of Mastuana Sahib)*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1992.
- Duggal, K. S. *Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, India, 1982.
- Garg, Vivek, and Ravish Mishra. *Manmohanics: Journey to South Block*. New Delhi: Manas, 2004.

- Ghai, Charan Dass. *God's Man: A Biography of Sant Fateh Singh*. Ludhiana: Lahore Book Shop, 1969.
- Gill, Rupinder Kaur. *Partap Singh Kairon: His Vision and Connections*. Ludhiana: Jaswant Printers, 2002.
- Gopal, Madan. *Dyal Singh Majithia*. New Delhi: Publications Division, 1994.
- Guleria, J. S. *Bhai Vir Singh: A Literary Portrait*. Delhi: NBS, 1985.
- Guleria, J. S., ed. *Bhai Vir Singh: The Sixth River of Punjab*. New Delhi: Guru Nanak Vidya Trust, 1972. 2nd ed. New Delhi: Bhai Vir Singh Sahitya Sadan, 1984.
- Hira, Bhagat Singh. *The Great Sikh Saints*. Delhi: NBS, n.d. [1992].
- Jalandhary, Surjeet. *Bhindranwale Sant*. Jalandhar: Punjab Pocket Books, 1984.
- Jaspal, Partap Singh. *Eternal Glory of Baba Nand Singh Ji Maharaj*. New Delhi: author, 1992.
- Johar, Surinder Singh. *Giani Zail Singh: A Biography*. Jalandhar: Gaurav, 1984.
- Josh, Harcharan Singh. *The Man on the Economic Wheel: A History of Punjab and Sind Bank and Its Chairman, Dr. Inderjit Singh*. Delhi: Preet, 1982.
- Josh, Sohan Singh. *My Tryst with Secularism: An Autobiography*. New Delhi: Patriot, 1991.
- Joshi, Chand. *Bhindranwale: Myth and Reality*. New Delhi: Vikas, 1984.
- Kalia, D. R. *Sant Harchand Singh Longowal (1932–1985): A Martyr for Peace*. Jalandhar: New Age, 1985.
- Kaur, Madanjit, ed. *Painter of the Divine: Sobha Singh*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1987.
- Khosla, G. S. *Bhai Vir Singh: An Analytical Study*. New Delhi: Heritage, 1984.
- Kirpal, Prem Nath, and Lajpat Rai Nair. *Dyal Singh Majithia: A Short Biographical Sketch*. Lahore: Bhupal Singh, 1935.
- Kohli, Surindar Singh. *Giani Zail Singh: A Biography*. Jalandhar: Gaurav, 1984.
- Lloyd, Sarah. *An Indian Attachment*. London: Harvill, 1984.
- McLeod, W. H. *Discovering the Sikhs: Autobiography of a Historian*. Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004.
- Mookerji, Radha Kumud. *Baba Kharak Singh Abhinandan Granth: 86th Birthday Commemoration Volume*. New Delhi: Baba Kharak Singh Abhinandan Committee, n.d.
- Parkash, Ram. *Giani Zail Singh: Life and Work*. New Delhi: Panchsheel, 1984.
- Pavate, D. *My Days as Governor*. Delhi: Vikas, 1974.

- Rekhi, Gurnam Singh. *Sir Sundar Singh Majithia and His Relevance in Sikh Politics*. New Delhi: Har Anand, 1999.
- Safeer, Pritam Singh. *A Study of Bhai Vir Singh's Poetry*. New Delhi: Bhai Vir Singh Sahitya Sadan, 1985.
- Sandhawalia, Preminder Singh. *Noblemen and Kinsmen: History of a Sikh Family*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1999.
- Sidhu, Choor Singh. *Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Martyr of the Sikh Faith*. Harpenden, UK: European Institute of Sikh Studies, 1997.
- Singh, Basant Kumari. *Reminiscences of Puran Singh*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1980.
- Singh, Darbara. *Ten Eminent Sikhs*. Amritsar: Literature House, 1982.
- Singh, Durlab. *Sikh Leadership*. Delhi: Sikh Literature Distributors, 1950.
- . *The Valiant Fighter: A Biographical Study of Master Tara Singh*. Lahore: Hero Publications, 1942.
- Singh, Ganda, ed. *Bhai Vir Singh: Birth Centenary Volume*. Reprint, Patiala: Punjabi University, 1984.
- Singh, Gurcharan, and Manjit Inder Singh, eds. *Professor G. S. Talib: A Perspective*. Delhi: Professor Talib Memorial Trust, 1987.
- Singh, Gurmukh. *A Hero of American Hearts: Dr. Harvinder Sahota Pioneer in Angioplasty*. New Delhi: Rupa, 2004.
- Singh, Harbans. *Bhai Vir Singh*. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1972.
- Singh, Harbans, ed. *Bhai Vir Singh Abhinandan Granth*. New Delhi: Bhai Vir Singh Abhinandan Samiti, 1954.
- Singh, Harbans, and N. Gerald Barrier, eds. *Essays in Honour of Dr Ganda Singh*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1976.
- Singh, Harnam. *Life of Baba Dip Singh Sahib*. Lahore: Sikh Tract Society, 1924. 39 pp.
- Singh, Joginder. *Sikh Leadership*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1999.
- Singh, Khushwant. *Truth, Love, and a Little Malice: An Autobiography*. New Delhi: Penguin Viking, 2002.
- Singh, Lakshman. *Bhagat Lakshman Singh: Autobiography*. Edited by Ganda Singh. Calcutta: Sikh Cultural Centre, 1965.
- . *Sikh Martyrs*. Madras: Ganesh, 1923.
- Singh, Mohinder. *Sardar-i-Azam Master Tara Singh Ji: Life of Master Tara Singh*. Amritsar: Panthic Tract Society, 1950.
- Singh, Mohinder, ed. [Different author]. *Prof. Harbans Singh Commemoration Volume*. New Delhi: Prof. Harbans Singh Commemoration Committee, 1988.
- Singh, Narain. *Jathedar Bhai Kartar Singh Jhabbar*. Amritsar: SGPC, 2004.
- Singh, Parkash. *Continuing Influence of Bhai Vir Singh*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1972.
- Singh, Partap. *Biography: Sardar Hukam Singh*. New Delhi: author, 1989.

- Singh, Patwant. *Of Dreams and Demons: An Indian Memoir*. New Delhi: Rupa, 1994.
- Singh, Patwant, and Harinder Kaur. *Garland around My Neck*. New Delhi: UBSPD, 2001.
- Singh, Randhir. *Autobiography of Bhai Sahib Randhir Singh*. Translated by Trilochan Singh. Ludhiana: Bhai Sahib Randhir Singh, 1971.
- Singh, Trilochan. *Our Leader Today: Maharaja Yadvindra Singh of Patiala*. Patiala: Panthic Durbar, 1948. 48 pp.
- Syngal, Munna Lal. *Patriot Prince, or the Life Story of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha Who Died as Martyr*. Ludhiana: Doaba House, 1961.
- Talib, Gurbachan Singh. *Sewa Singh Thikriwala: A Brief Sketch of His Life and Work*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1971. 31 pp.
- Talib, Gurbachan Singh, and Attar Singh, eds. *Bhai Vir Singh: Life, Times, and Works*. Chandigarh: Panjab University, 1973.
- Talib, Gurbachan Singh, and Harbans Singh, eds. *Bhai Vir Singh: Poet of the Sikhs*. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1976.
- Singh, Zail. *Memoirs of Giani Zail Singh*. New Delhi: Har Anand, 1997.

Gurdwaras and Sacred Cities

- Ahluwalia, Jasbir Singh, and H. S. Dilgir, eds. *Sri Akal Takht: A Symbol of Divine Sovereignty*. Chandigarh: GGSF, 1994.
- Arshi, P. S. *The Golden Temple: History, Art, and Architecture*. New Delhi: Harman, 1989.
- Aulakh, Ajit Singh. *About the Golden Temple*. Amritsar: B. Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, 2001.
- Bajwa, Fauja Singh [Singh, Fauja]. *Guide to Sikh Shrines and Historical Places in Delhi*. New Delhi: DGPC, 1953.
- Bali, Jang Bahadur. *Sis Ganj: The Story of the Historical Sikh Shrines of Delhi*. New Delhi: Swarn, 1967.
- Bawa, J. S. *The Heritage of Amritsar*. Amritsar: Faqir Singh, 1977.
- Berar, A. S. *Hemkunt Sahib: A Journey from the Past to the Present*. New Delhi: Srishti, 2003.
- Datta, V. N. *Amritsar Past and Present*. Amritsar: Municipal Committee, 1967.
- Dilgeer, Harjinder Singh. *The Akal Takht*. Jullundur: Punjabi Book Company, 1980. Republished as *Glory of the Akal Takht*, 1984.
- . *Anandpur Sahib*. Waremmme, Belgium: Sikh University Centre, 2003.
- Duggal, K. S. *The Akal Takht and Other Seats of Sikh Polity*. New Delhi: UBSPD, 1995.

- Gandhi, Surjit Singh. *Perspectives on Sikh Gurdwaras Legislation*. New Delhi: Atlantic, 1993.
- Gauba, Anand. *Amritsar: A Study in Urban History (1840–1947)*. Jalandhar: ABS Publications, 1988.
- Grewal, J. S. *The City of the Golden Temple*. Amritsar: GNDU, 2004.
- Grewal, J. S., and Indu Banga, eds. *Studies in Urban History*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1978.
- Gupta, V. K. *The Sikhs and Gurdwara System*. New Delhi: Anmol, 1998.
- Janjua, H. S. *Sikh Temples in the U.K. and the People behind Their Management*. London: Jan, 1976.
- Johar, Surinder Singh. *The Heritage of Amritsar*. Delhi: Sundeep, 1978.
- . *The Sikh Gurus and Their Shrines*. Delhi: Vivek, 1976.
- Kaur, Madanjit. *Golden Temple: Past and Present*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1983. 2nd ed. Amritsar: GNDU, 2004.
- Kaur-Singh, Kanwaljit. *Sikh Gurdwaras*. London: Franklin Watts, 1998. 32 pp.
- Khan, Mohammed Waliullah Khan. *Sikh Shrines in Pakistan*. Lahore: Kalpaz, 2000.
- . *Sikh Shrines in West Pakistan*. Karachi: Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, 1962.
- Mitra, Swami, ed. *Walking with the Gurus (Historical Gurdwaras of Punjab)*. New Delhi: Good Earth.
- Neki, Jaswant Singh. *Pilgrimage to Hemkunt*. New Delhi: UBSPD, 2002.
- Qaiser, Iqbal. *Historical Sikh Shrines in Pakistan*. Lahore: Punjabi History Board.
- Rajguru, Suparna, and M. S. Siali. *Gurdwara in the Himalayas*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 2001.
- Randhir, G. S. *Sikh Shrines in India*. New Delhi: Publication Division, Government of India, 1990.
- Sahi, J. S. *Sikh Shrines in India and Abroad*. Faridabad: Common World, 1978.
- Sandhu, Ranvinder Singh. *The City and Its Slums: A Sociological Study*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1989.
- Shankar, Sondeep, and Mohinder Singh. *The Golden Temple*. Hong Kong: Guidebook, 1992.
- Shankar, Vijay N., and Ranvir Bhatnagar. *The Golden Temple: A Gift to Humanity*. Gurgaon: Ranvir Bhatnagar, 2004.
- Shergill, N. S. *Sikh Gurdwaras and Sikh Organisations Abroad*. Southall: author, 1980.
- Sidhu, Choor Singh. *Sri Harmandir Sahib Amritsar: The Golden Temple of the Sikhs*. Harpenden, UK: European Institute of Sikh Studies, 1999.
- Singh, Amrik. *Sikh Shrines in Delhi*. New Delhi: UBSPD, 2003.
- Singh, Baghel. *Sri Hemkunt Sahib*. Ludhiana: PWCIS, 1987.

- Singh, Fauja. *City of Amritsar: A Study of Historical, Cultural, Social, and Economic Aspects*. New Delhi: Oriental, 1978.
- . *City of Amritsar: An Introduction*. Patiala: PIU, 1977.
- Singh, Ganda. *History of the Gurdwara Shahidganj, Lahore, from Its Origin to November 1935*. Amritsar: author, 1935.
- Singh, Gurcharan. *The Place of Supreme Sacrifice: Gurdwara Fatehgarh Sahib Sirhind*. Amritsar: SGPC, n.d.
- Singh, Gurmukh. *Historical Sikh Shrines*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1994.
- Singh, Harbans. *City of Joy: Siri Anandpur Sahib*. Amritsar: SGPC, 1966. 16 pp.
- . *Heritage of the Golden Temple*. Amritsar: SGPC, n.d. 28 pp.
- Singh, Hari, ed. *Sikh Heritage in Pakistan*. New Delhi: Asia Publications Services, 1995.
- Singh, Harpreet. *Amritsar*. Amritsar: author, 2001.
- Singh, Hazara. *History and Guide to the Golden Temple*. Amritsar: Partap Singh Sunder Singh, 1938.
- Singh, Jagjit. *Temple of Spirituality or Golden Temple, Amritsar*. Tarn Taran: Sikh Religious Tract Society, 1935.
- Singh, Kashmir. *Commentary on the Sikh Gurdwaras Act 1925*. Amritsar: GNDU, 2004.
- . *Law of Religious Institutions: Sikh Gurdwaras*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1989.
- . *Sikh Gurdwaras Legislation*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1991.
- Singh, Kharak, ed. *On Gurdwara Legislation*. Chandigarh: Institute of Sikh Studies, 1998.
- Singh, Mehar. *Sikh Shrines in India*. New Delhi: Publication Division, Government of India, 1975. 50 pp.
- Singh, Mohinder. *Anandpur: The City of Bliss*. New Delhi: UBSPD, 2002.
- . *The Golden Temple*. New Delhi: UBSPD, 2002. 84 pp.
- . *Gurdwaras in India and Pakistan*. New Delhi: National Institute of Panjabi Studies, 2004.
- Singh, Narinderjit. *Around the Golden Temple*. Amritsar: JSKS, 1977.
- Singh, Parm Bakhshish, ed. *Golden Temple*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1999.
- Singh, Patwant. *The Golden Temple*. New Delhi: Time Books, 1988.
- . *Gurdwaras in India and around the World*. New Delhi: Himalayan, 1992.
- Singh, Sunder. *Guide to the Darbar Sahib of the Golden Temple of Amritsar*. Amritsar: author, 1905.
- Singh, Trilochan. *Historical Sikh Shrines in Delhi*. New Delhi: DGPC, 1967.
- Sodhi, Hazara Singh. *History and Guide to the Golden Temple*. Amritsar: PSSS, 1938.

Walking with the Gurus: Historical Gurdwaras of Punjab. Delhi: Good Earth, 2004.

Art, Literature, and Music

- Ahluwalia, Jasbir Singh. *Punjabi Literature in Perspective: A Marxist Approach*. Ludhiana: Kalyani, 1973.
- Aijazuddin, F. S. *Pahari Paintings and Sikh Portraits in the Lahore Museum*. Karachi: OUP, 1977.
- Archer, W. G. *Paintings of the Sikhs*. London: HMSO, 1966.
- Arshi, P. S. *Sikh Architecture*. New Delhi: Intellectual, 1986.
- Bains, K. S. *Sikh Heritage in Paintings*. New Delhi: Perfect, 1995.
- Bedi, Joginder Singh. *Modern Punjabi Poets and Their Vision*. Chandigarh: Ragbhir Rachna, 1987.
- Bedi, K. S., and S. S. Bal, eds. *Essays on History, Literature, Art, and Culture. Presented to Dr. M. S. Randhawa*. New Delhi: Atma Ram, 1970.
- Bharadia, Seema. *The Arts of the Sikh Kingdoms*. The Canadian Collections. Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 2000.
- Brown, Kerry, ed. *Sikh Art and Literature*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- , ed. *Culture and Kingdom of the Sikhs: Fine Art Poster Book*. Palo Alto: Sikh Foundation, 1999.
- Goswamy, B. N. *Painters at the Sikh Court*. Exp. 1975 ed. New Delhi: Aryan, 1999.
- . *Piety and Splendour: Sikh Heritage in Art*. New Delhi: National Museum, 2000.
- Hans, Surjit, ed. *B-40 Janamsakhi Guru Baba Nanak Paintings*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1987.
- Herrli, Hans. *Coins of the Sikhs*. Nagpur: Indian Coin Society, 1993.
- “Homage to Amritsar.” *Marg: A Magazine of the Arts* 30, no. 3 (1977).
- Joshi, Mohinder Singh, and Gurmukh Singh Jeet, eds. *Contemporary Punjabi Short Stories*. New Delhi: PWCIS, 1984.
- McLeod, W. H. *Popular Sikh Art*. Delhi: OUP, 1991.
- “Maharaja Ranjit Singh.” *Marg: A Magazine of the Arts* 34, no. 1 (1981).
- Maini, Darshan Singh. *Studies in Punjabi Poetry*. New Delhi: Vikas, 1979.
- Manasvi. *Sikh History and Culture: Reflections in Indian Fiction*. New Delhi: Harman, 1993.
- Mansukhani, Gobind Singh. *Indian Classical Music and Sikh Kirtan*. New Delhi: Oxford/IBH, 1982.
- Narang, C. L. *History of Punjabi Literature, 850–1850 A.D.* Delhi: NBS, 1987.
- Nijhawan, Michael. *Dhadhi Darbar: Religion, Violence, and the Performance of Sikh History*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006.

- “Portraits of the Sikh Gurus by Sikh Artists.” *Roopa-Lekha* 39, no. 1 (1970).
- Randhawa, T. S. *The Sikhs: Images of a Heritage*. New Delhi: Prakash, 2000.
- Sandhu, Gulzar Singh. *Punjabis, War, and Women*. Edited by Marcus Franda. New Delhi: Heritage, 1983.
- Shackle, C. *An Introduction to the Sacred Language of the Sikhs*. London: SOAS, University of London, 1983.
- Shamsher, Jogindar. *The Overtime People: Punjabi Writers of Great Britain*. Jalandhar: ABS Publications, 1989.
- Sikh Sacred Music*. New Delhi: Sikh Sacred Music Society, 1967.
- Singh, Amrit Kaur, and Rabindra K.D. Kaur. *Bindhu's Wedding*. Palo Alto: Sikh Foundation, 1999.
- . *Images of Freedom*. New Delhi: Indialog, 2003.
- . *Twin Perspectives*. N.p.: Twin Studio, 1999. 95 pp.
- Singh, Attar. *Secularization of Modern Punjabi Poetry*. Chandigarh: Punjab Prakashan, 1988.
- Singh, Daljit. *Sikh Sacred Music*. Ludhiana: Sikh Sacred Music Society, 1967.
- Singh, Darshan. *Sikh Art and Architecture*. Chandigarh: Panjab University, 1986–1987.
- Singh, G. S. Sohan. *Revealing the Art of G. S. Sohan Singh*. Amritsar: author, 1971.
- Singh, Gurnam. *Sikh Musicology: Sri Guru Granth Sahib and Hymns of the Human Spirit*. New Delhi: Kanishka, 2001.
- Singh, Harbans. *Aspects of Punjabi Literature*. Ferozepore Cantt: Bawa, 1961.
- Singh, Harbans [Different author]. *Mahindi and Other Stories*. Delhi: Nav-yug, 1984.
- Singh, Kavita. *New Insights into Sikh Art*. Mumbai: Marg Publications, 2003.
- Singh, Pankaj. *Representing Women*.
- Singh, Pritam, ed. *The Voices of Dissent*. Jalandhar: Seema, 1972.
- Singh, Puran. *Walt Whitman and the Sikh Inspiration*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1982.
- Singh, Surinder. *Sikh Coinage: Symbol of Sikh Sovereignty*. New Delhi: Manohar, 2004.
- Singh, Vir. *Bijai Singh*. Translated by Devinder Singh Duggal. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 1983.
- . *The Epic of Rana Surat Singh*. Translated by Gurbachan Singh Talib. Chandigarh: Panjab University, 1986.
- . *Rana Bhabor*. Translated by Amar Singh Malik. Dehradun: Dr. Balbir Singh Sahitya Kendra, 1982.
- . *Sundri*. Translated by Gobind Singh Mansukhani. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 1983.

- Sobti, Harcharan Singh. *The Sikh Psyche: A Study of the Fictional Writings of Bhai Vir Singh*. Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers, 1990.
- Srivastava, S. P. *Art and Cultural Heritage of Patiala*. Delhi: Sundeeep, 1991.
- Stronge, Susan, ed. *The Arts of the Sikh Kingdoms*. London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1999.
- Tasneem, N. S. *Studies in Modern Punjabi Literature*. New Delhi: Avishkar, 1980.

The Army

- Anderson, R. H. *History of the 45th Rattrays Sikhs, 1914–21*. London: Stif-ton Praed, 1925.
- Bamford, P. G. *1st King George V's Own Battalion, the Sikh Regiment, the 14th King George's Own Ferozepore Sikhs, 1846–1946*. Aldershot, UK: Gale & Bolden, 1948.
- Barstow, A. E. *Sikhs: A Handbook for the Indian Army*. 1928. Reprint, Delhi: B. R. Publishing, 1985.
- Bingley, A. H. *Sikhs*. Calcutta, Government Printing, 1918. Reprint, Patiala: LDP, 1970.
- Birdwood, F. T. *Sikh Regiments in the Second World War*. Norwich: Jarrod & Sons, n.d.
- Brander, H. R. *32nd Sikh Pioneers: A Regimental History*. 2 vols. Calcutta: SGP, 1906.
- Falcon, R. W. *Handbook on Sikhs for the Use of Regimental Officers*. Allahabad: Pioneer, 1896.
- Gupta, Hari Ram. *Soldierly Traditions of the Sikhs up to 1849*. New Delhi: Sirjana, n.d. 41 pp.
- History of the 1st Punjab Cavalry*. Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1887.
- History of the 1st Sikh Infantry, 1866–1886*. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, 1887.
- History of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, 1849–1886*. London: Kegan Paul, 1888.
- MacMunn, George F. *The Armies of India*. London: A. & C. Black, 1911.
- . *History of the Sikh Pioneers*. London: Sampson Low, 1936.
- Macrae, H. St. G.M. *Regimental History of the 45th Rattray's Sikhs*. Glasgow: Robert, 1953.
- Madra, Amandeep Singh, and Parmjit Singh. *Warrior Saints: Three Centu-ries of the Sikh Military Traditions*. London: Tauris, 1999.
- May, C. W. *History of the 2nd Sikhs 12th Frontier Force Regiment, 1846–1933*. Jubbulpore: Mission Press, 1933.
- Mazumdar, Rajit K. *The Indian Army and the Making of Punjab*. Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003.

- Pall, S. J. S. *The Story of Valiant Sikhs*. Amritsar: B. Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, 2004.
- Shearer, J. E. *History of the 1st Battalion 15th Panjab Regiment, 1857–1937*. London: Gale & Polden, 1937.
- Shirley, S. R. *History of the 54th Sikh Frontier Force Previously Designated 4th Sikhs Punjab Frontier Force, 1846 to 1914*. London: Gale & Polden, 1915.
- Sikh Portrait of Courage*. Delhi: GPC and Khalsa Defence Council, n.d.
- Singh, Amarinder. *Lest We Forget*. Patiala: Regiment of Ludhiana Welfare Association, 1999.
- Singh, Harbakhsh. *In the Line of Duty: A Soldier Remembers*. New Delhi: Lancer, 2000.
- Singh, Surjan, comp. and ed. *They Died for all Free Men*. Singapore: Sikh Missionary Society Malaya, n.d. [2003].

SIKHS OUTSIDE THE PUNJAB

General Abroad

- Angelo, Michael. *The Sikh Diaspora*. New York: Garland, 1997.
- Axel, Brian Keith. *The Nation's Tortured Body: Violence, Representation, and the Formation of a Sikh "Diaspora."* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001.
- Bahadur Singh, I. J., ed. *The Other India: The Overseas Indians and Their Relationship with India*. New Delhi: Arnold Heinemann, 1979.
- Ballantyne, Tony. *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2002.
- Banerjee, Himadri. *The Other Sikhs: A View from Eastern India*. New Delhi: Manohar, 2003.
- Barrier, N. Gerald, and Verne A. Dusenbery, eds. *The Sikh Diaspora: Migration and Experience beyond Punjab*. Columbia, MO: South Asia Books, 1989; New Delhi: Chanakya, 1989.
- Dusenbery, Van. *Sikhs at Large: Religion, Culture and Politics in Global Perspective*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Hawley, Michael, ed. *Sikh Diaspora: Theory, Agency, and Experience*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Kaur, Surjit. *Amongst the Sikhs: Reaching for the Stars*. New Delhi: Roli, 2003.
- Kondapi, C. *Indians Overseas, 1838–1949*. New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs, 1951.

- Kurian, George, and Ram P. Srivasatva, eds. *Overseas Indians: A Study of Adaptation*. New Delhi: Vikas, 1983.
- Myrvold, Kristina, *Inside the Guru's Gate: Ritual Uses of Texts Among the Sikhs of Varanasi*. Lund, Sweden: Department of History and Anthropology of Religions, 2007.
- Sawraj, S. *Towards a Global Perspective*. Surrey, BC: Words Worth, 2004.
- Singh, Gurmukh. *The Rise of the Sikhs Abroad*. New Delhi: Rupa, 2003.
- Singh, Pashaura, and N. Gerald Barrier, eds. *The Transmission of Sikh Heritage in the Diaspora*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1996.
- Tatla, Darshan Singh. *The Sikh Diaspora: The Search for Statehood*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999.

United Kingdom

- Agnihotri, Rama Kant. *Crisis of Identity: The Sikhs in England*. New Delhi: Bahri, 1987.
- Aurora, G. S. *The New Frontiersmen: A Sociological Study of Indian Immigrants in the United Kingdom*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1967.
- Ballard, Roger, ed. *Desh Pardesh: The South Asian Presence in Britain*. London: Hurst, 1994.
- Beetham, David. *Transport and Turbans: A Comparative Study in Local Politics*. London: OUP, 1970.
- Bhachu, Parminder. *Twice Migrants: East African Settlers in Britain*. London: Tavistock, 1985.
- Bidwell, Sidney. *The Turban Victory*. Southall: Sri Guru Singh Sabha Gurdwara, n.d.
- Butler, D. G. *Life among the Sikhs*. London: Edward Arnold, 1980.
- Chandan, Amarjit. *Indians in Britain*. New Delhi: Sterling, 1986.
- Cole, W. Owen. *A Sikh Family in Britain*. Oxford: Religious Education Press, 1973.
- Desai, Rashmi. *Indian Immigrants in Britain*. London: OUP, 1963.
- De Souza, Allan. *The Sikhs in Britain*. London: Batsford, 1986.
- DeWitt, John. *Indian Workers' Associations in Britain*. London: OUP, 1969.
- Fitzgerald, Kitty, comp. *Speaking for Ourselves: Sikh Oral History*. Manchester: Manchester Sikh History Project, 1986.
- Ghuman, P. A. S. *Cultural Context of Thinking: A Comparative Study of Punjabi and English Boys*. Windsor: NFER, 1975.
- Hall, Kathleen D. *Lives in Translation: Sikh Youth as British Citizens*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2002.
- Helweg, A. W. *Sikhs in England: The Development of a Migrant Community*. Delhi: OUP, 1979. Rev. ed. Delhi: OUP, 1986.

- Henley, Alix. *Caring for Sikhs and Their Families: Religious Aspect of Care*. London: Department of Health and Social Security/King Edward's Hospital Fund for London, 1984.
- James, Alan G. *Sikh Children in Britain*. London: OUP, 1974.
- Kalra, S. S. *Daughters of Tradition: Adolescent Sikh Girls and Their Accommodation to Life in British Society*. Birmingham: Third World Publications, 1980.
- Kaur, Jasbir, and Kulwinder Kaur. *Young Sikh Girls in Britain*. London: British Council of Churches, n.d.
- Madan, Raj. *Colored Minorities in Great Britain*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1979.
- Marsh, Peter. *Anatomy of a Strike*. London: Institute of Race Relations, 1967.
- Nesbitt, Eleanor. "My Dad's Hindu, My Mum's Side Are Sikhs": *Issues in Religious Identity*. Warwick: National Foundation for Arts Education, 1991.
- Puri, Kailash and Eleanor Nesbitt. *Pool of Life: The Autobiography of a Punjabi Agony Aunt*. Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2014.
- Sangha, Surinder Singh. *Racial Equality, Education, and Punjabis in Britain*. Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 2001.
- Shan, Sharan-Jeet. *In My Own Name*. London: Women's Press, 1985.
- Singh, Ramindar. *The Sikh Community in Bradford*. Bradford: Bradford College, 1978. 44 pp. Revised edition published as *Immigrants to Citizens* in 1992.
- Tinker, Hugh. *The Banyan Tree: Overseas Emigrants from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh*. Oxford: OUP, 1977.
- Watson, James L., ed. *Between Two Cultures: Migrants and Minorities in Britain*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1977.

North America

- Bains, Tara Singh, and Hugh Johnston. *The Four Quarters of the Night: The Life-Journey of an Emigrant Sikh*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.
- Basran, Gurcharn Singh, and B. Singh Belaria. *The Sikhs in Canada*. New Delhi: OUP, 2003.
- Blaise, Clark, and Bharati Mukherjee. *The Sorrow and the Terror: The Haunting Legacy of the Air India Tragedy*. Markham: Penguin Books Canada, 1987.
- Buchignani, Norman, and Doreen M. Indra. *Continuous Journey: A Social History of South Asians in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1985.
- Chadney, James G. *The Sikhs of Vancouver*. New York: AMS Press, 1984.

- Chandra, K. V. *Racial Discrimination in Canada*. San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1973.
- Elsberg, Constance Waeber. *Graceful Women: Gender and Identity in an American Sikh Community*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003.
- Gibson, Margaret A. *Accommodation without Assimilation: Sikh Immigrants in an American High School*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 1988.
- Gundara, Jaswinder. *Splintered Dreams: Sikhs in Southern Alberta*. Calgary: Arusha International Development Resource Center, 1985.
- Hardwick, Francis C., ed. *From Beyond the Western Horizon: Canadians from the Sub-Continent of India*. Vancouver: Tantalus Research, 1974.
- Hawley, John Stratton, and Gurinder Singh Mann, eds. *Studying the Sikhs: Issues for North America*. Albany: SUNY, 1993.
- Hirabayashi, Gordon, and K. Victor Ujimoto. *Visible Minorities and Multiculturalism: Asians in Canada*. Toronto: Butterworth, 1980.
- Jacoby, Harold S. *A Half-century of Appraisal of East Indians in the United States*. Stockton, CA: College of the Pacific, 1956. 35 pp.
- Jain, Sushil K. *East Indians in Canada*. Windsor: Canadian Bibliographic Center, 1970.
- Jensen, Joan M. *Passage from India: Asian Indian Immigrants in North America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988.
- Johnston, Hugh. *The Voyage of the Komagata Maru: The Sikh Challenge to Canada's Colour Bar*. Delhi: OUP, 1979.
- Judge, Paramjit S. *Punjabis in Canada: A Study of Formation of an Ethnic Community*. Delhi: Chanakya, 1993.
- Kanungo, Rabindera, ed. *South Asians in the Canadian Mosaic*. Montreal: Kala Bharati, 1984.
- Kashmiri, Zuhair, and Brian McAndrew. *Soft Target: How the Indian Intelligence Service Penetrated Canada*. Toronto: James Lorimer, 1989.
- La Brack, Bruce. *The Sikhs of Northern California, 1904–1975*. New York: AMS Press, 1988.
- Leonard, Karen Isaksen. *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans*. Philadelphia: Temple University, 1992.
- Mulgrew, Ian. *Unholy Terror: The Sikhs and International Terrorism*. Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1988.
- Narula, Surinder Singh. *Koma Gata Maru*. Ludhiana: Central, 1985.
- Pollock, Sharon. *The Komagata Maru Incident*. Toronto: Playwrights Canada, 1978.
- Saund, D. S. *Congressman from India*. New York: Dutton, 1960.
- Singh, Bhagat. *Canadian Sikhs through a Century, 1897–1997*. Delhi: Gyan Sagar, 2001.
- Singh, Gurdit. *Voyage of the Kamagata-Maru or India's Slavery Abroad*. Calcutta: author, n.d.

- Singh, Jane, et al. *South Asians in North America*. Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of California, 1988.
- Singh, Kesar. *Canadian Sikhs and the Komagata Maru Massacre*. British Columbia: author, 1989.
- Singh, Narinder. *Canadian Sikhs*. Ottawa: Canadian Sikhs' Study Institute, 1994.
- Singh, Ravi. *Leadership by Turban*. New Delhi: Hemkunt, 2004.
- Singh, Sohan. *Tragedy of Komagata Maru*. New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1975.
- Unna, Warren. *Sikhs Abroad: Attitudes and Activities of Sikhs Settled in the USA and Canada*. Calcutta: Statesman, 1985. 34 pp.
- Verma, Archana B. *The Making of Little Punjab in Canada*. New Delhi: Sage, 2002.
- Williams, Raymond Brady. *Religions of Immigrants from India and Pakistan*. New York: CUP, 1988.

Other Abroad

- Ballantyne, Tony. *Sikh Cultural Formations in an Imperial World*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Bhatti, Rashmere, and Verne A. Dusenbery, eds. *A Punjabi Sikh Community in Australia*. Woolgoolga: Woolgoolga Neighbourhood Centre, 2001.
- Bilimoria, Purushottama. *The Hindus and Sikhs in Australia*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1996.
- Chowdhary, Hardip Singh, and Anup Singh Choudry, comp. *Sikh Pilgrimage to Pakistan*. London: Gurbani Cassette Centre, 1985.
- De Lepervanche, Marie M. *Indians in a White Australia*. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984.
- Gabbi, Rajinder Singh. *Sikhs in Australia*. Glen Waverley, Victoria: Aristoc Offset, 1998.
- Ghai, Dharam P., ed. *Portrait of a Minority: Asians in East Africa*. Nairobi: OUP, 1965.
- Hirvi, Laura. *Identities in Practice: A Trans-Atlantic Ethnography of Sikh Immigrants in Finland and in California*. Helsinki: SKS Kirjat, 2013.
- Jacobsen, Knut A., and Kristina Myrvold, eds. *Sikhs in Europe: Migration, Identities and Representations*. Surrey and Burlington, VA: Ashgate, 2011.
- Jacobsen, Knut A., and Kristina Myrvold, eds. *Sikhs Across Borders: Transnational Practices of European Sikhs*. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.
- Kaur, Arunajeet. *Sikhs in the Policing of British Malaya and Straits Settlements (1874–1957)*. Saarbrücken: VDM, 2009.

- McLeod, W. H. *A List of Punjabi Immigrants in New Zealand, 1890–1959*. Hamilton: Country Section of the Central Indian Association, 1984.
- . *Punjabis in New Zealand*. Amritsar: GNDU, 1986.
- . *Punjab to Aotearoa: Migration and Settlement of Punjabis in New Zealand, 1890–1990*. With S. S. Bhullar. Hamilton: New Zealand Indian Association Country Section, 1992.
- Mangat, J. S. *A History of the Asians in East Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1970.
- Parkash, Ved. *The Sikhs in Bihar*. Patna: Janaki, 1981.
- Sarna, Jasbir Singh. *Sikhs in Kashmir*. Delhi: NBO, 1993.
- Shamsul, A.B., and Arunjajeet Kaur, eds. *Sikhs in Southeast Asia: Negotiating an Identity*. Singapore: ISEAS, 2011.
- Sidhu, Manjit Singh. *The Sikhs in Kenya*. Chandigarh: Panjab University, n.d.
- . *Sikhs in Malaysia*. Malacca: Sant Sohan Singh Ji Melaka Memorial Society, 1991.
- Singh, Bhupinder. *The Dutch Sikhs: A Brief History*. Sikh University Press, 2009.
- Singh, Gajraj. *The Sikhs of Fiji*. Suva: South Pacific Social Sciences Association, n.d.
- Singh, Gurharpal, and Darshan Singh Tatla. *Sikhs in Britain: The Making of a Community*. London: Zed, 2006.
- Singh, Gurmukh. *The Global Indian: The Rise of Sikhs Abroad*. Delhi: Manohar, 2003.
- Tinker, Hugh. *Separate and Unequal: India and the Indians in the British Commonwealth, 1920–1950*. London: Hurst, 1976.
- Tiwari, Kapil N., ed. *Indians in New Zealand: Studies of a Sub-Culture*. Wellington: Price Milburn, 1980.
- Vaid, K. N. *The Overseas Indian Community in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Center of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong, 1972.

PRINCIPAL SOURCES FOR SIKHISM IN PUNJABI

- Adi Sri Guru Granth Sahib Ji*. Sri Damdami Bir. Various printed editions. Standard pagination. 1430 pp.
- Bhangu, Ratan Singh. *Prachin Panth Prakash*. 1914. 4th ed. Amritsar: Khalsa Samachar, 1962.
- Dasam Sri Guru Granth Sahib Ji*. Various printed editions. Standard pagination. 1428 pp.
- Gurdas Bhalla [Bhai Gurdas]. *Varan Bhai Gurdas*. Edited by Hazara Singh and Vir Singh. Amritsar: Khalsa Samachar, 1962.

- Guru Granth Ratanavali*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 2001.
- Jaggi, Ratan Singh. *Dasam Granth da Karatritav*. New Delhi: Panjabi Sahit Sabha, 1966.
- . *Janam Sakhi Bhai Bala*. Amritsar: Guru Nanak University, 1974.
- Jaggi, Ratan Singh, ed. *Varan Bhai Gurdas: Shabad Anukramanika ate Kosh*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1966.
- Kohli, Surindar Singh, ed. *Janamasakhi Bhai Bala*. Chandigarh: Panjab University, 1975.
- Nabha, Kahn Singh [Singh, Kahn, or as Singh, Kahan]. *Gurushabad Ratanakar Mahan Kosh*. 1931. 2nd ed. rev. with addendum, in 1 vol. Patiala: LDP, 1960.
- Nabha, Kahn Singh [Singh, Kahn, or as Singh, Kahan], ed. *Guramat Maratand*. 2 vols. Amritsar: SGPC, 1962.
- . *Guramat Prabhakar*. 4th ed. Patiala: LDP, 1970.
- . *Guramat Sudhakar*. 4th ed. Patiala: LDP, 1970.
- Nihang, Kaur Singh, comp. *Guru Shabad Ratan Prakash*. Patiala: LDP, 1963. Original edition entitled *Sri Guru Sabad Ratan Prakash* (1923). Line Index of the Adi Granth.
- Padam, Piara Singh, ed. *Rahit Name*. Patiala: author, 1974.
- Photozincograph Facsimile of the *Colebrooke Janam-sakhi*. Dehra Dun: Survey of India, 1885.
- Sikh Rahit Marayada*. 1st ed. Amritsar: SGPC, 1950. Numerous editions thereafter.
- Singh, Bhagavant “Hari Ji.” *Dasam Granth Tuk-tatakara*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1969.
- Singh, Ganda, ed. *Bhai Nand Lal Granthavali*. Malacca: Sant Sohan Singh, 1968.
- . *Hukamaname*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1967.
- . *Sri Gur Sobha*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1967.
- Singh, Guracharan, ed. *Adi Granth Shabad-anakramanika*. 2 vols. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1971.
- Singh, Koir [Kuir]. *Gurabilas Patashahi 10*. Edited by Shamsheer Singh Ashok. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1968.
- Singh, Piar, ed. *Janam Sakhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji*. The B40 Janam-sakhi. Amritsar: GNDU, 1974.
- Singh, Randhir, ed. *Shabadarath Dasam Granth Sahib*. 3 vols. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1985–1988.
- Singh, Sahib. *Sri Guru Granth Sahib Darapan*. 10 vols. Jullundur: Raj, 1962–1964.
- Singh, Santokh. *Nanak Prakash and Suraj Prakash*. 13 vols. Edited by Vir Singh. Amritsar: Khalsa Samachar, 1927–1935. Vol. 1, *Sri Gur Pratap Suraj Granthavali di Prasavana*, being Vir Singh’s introduction; vols. 2–4, *Sri Gur Nanak Prakash*; vols. 5–13, *Sri Gur Pratap Suraj Granth*.

- Singh, Sukha. *Gurbilas Patshahi 10*. Edited by Gursharan Kaur Jaggi. Patiala: LDP, 1989.
- Singh, Taran, ed. *Guru Nanak Bani Prakash*. 2 vols. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1969.
- [Principally Teja Singh]. *Shabadarath Sri Guru Granth Sahib Ji*. Text and commentary on the Adi Granth. N.p.: 1936–1941.
- Singh, Vir. *Santhya Sri Guru Granth Sahib*. 7 vols. (incomplete). Amritsar: Khalsa Samachar, 1958–1962.
- [Vir Singh]. *Sri Guru Granth Kosh*. 3 vols. Amritsar: Khalsa Samachar, 1950.
- Vir Singh, ed. *Panj Granthi Satik*. 3rd ed. Amritsar: Khalsa Samachar, 1966.
- . *Puratan Janam-sakhi*. Amritsar: Khalsa Samachar. Several editions.
- Sohan. *Sri Gur Bilas Patshahi 6*. Edited by Indar Singh Gill. Amritsar: Pramindar Singh Soch, 1968.

JOURNALS

- Abstracts of Sikh Studies*. Biannual. Chandigarh: Institute of Sikh Studies; and Santa Ana, CA: Center of Sikh Studies, 1991.
- Journal of Punjab Studies*. Biannual. University of California, Santa Barbara, 2004.
- Journal of Regional History*. Annual. Amritsar: Department of History, GNDU, 1980.
- Journal of Religious Studies*. Biannual. Patiala: Department of Religious Studies, Punjabi University, 1969.
- Journal of Sikh Studies*. Biannual. Amritsar: Department of Guru Nanak Studies, GNDU, 1974.
- The Panjab Past and Present*. Biannual. Patiala: Department of Punjab Historical Studies, Punjabi University, 1967.
- Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference*. Annual. Patiala: Department of Punjab Historical Studies, Punjabi University, 1965.
- Punjab Journal of Politics*. Biannual. Amritsar: Department of Political Science, GNDU, 1977.
- Sikh Formations*. Three issues per year.
- Sikh Review*. Monthly. Calcutta: Sikh Cultural Centre, 1952.
- Studies in Sikhism and Comparative Religion*. Biannual. New Delhi: GNF, 1982.

WEBSITES

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/sikhism/index.shtml>. From the BBC, the best Internet site for an introduction to Sikhism, including contemporary interviews with Sikhs, film clips, and special features about the Sikh tradition.

<http://philtar.ucsm.ac.uk/encyclopedia/sikhism/index.html>. A very good website giving an overview of the development of the Sikh tradition in a chart format, from St. Martin's College in Lancaster, United Kingdom.

<http://www.religioustolerance.org/sikhism.htm>. From the Ontario Consultants on Religious Tolerance in Canada, with an unbiased introduction to issues facing Sikhs in Canada.

<http://www.sikhcybermuseum.org/index.htm>. Anglo-Sikh Historical Knowledge Base.

<http://www.sikh-heritage.co.uk/page1.htm>. An excellent site featuring Sikh art, heritage, and various Sikh sects.

<http://www.sikhs.org>. Sandeep Singh Brar's Sikhism home page, one of the first of its kind and operating since 1998, offers many resources for learning about Sikhism. It presents the Sikh perspective on a variety of issues and includes a huge database of pictures and sound files.

<http://www.sikhseek.com>. A web guide devoted to Sikhism-related topics designed by Gurumustuk Singh Khalsa.

<http://allaboutsikhs.com/home.php>. A comprehensive site on Sikhism, including a search engine for Sikh scripture in Gurmukhi, Hindi, and English; a scriptural index; and many resources on Sikh rituals, ceremonies, and festivals. Further, the site features Max Arthur Macauliffe's opus, *The Sikh Religion, Its Gurus, Sacred Writings, and Authors*.

<http://atschool.eduweb.co.uk/carolrb/sikhism/sikhism1.html>. An introduction to Sikhism for children by a UK schoolteacher.

<http://www.saldef.org>. The website of the Sikh American Legal Defense and Education Fund (previously known as SMART, the Sikh Mediawatch and Research Taskforce), the mission of which is to ensure that the civil rights of Sikhs in North America are defended. Also, outreach and education are top priorities.

<http://www.sikhchic.com>. Informative website of all things Sikh. Includes reviews of books, plays, and music as well as commentaries on Sikh traditions and issues regarding Diaspora Sikhs.

<http://www.sikhcoalition.org>. A website devoted to ensuring that Sikh legal issues in North America are clearly addressed. Also advocates on behalf of Sikhs and works on community outreach.

<http://www.sikhfoundation.org>

- <http://www.sikhwomen.com>. A website devoted to Sikh women's issues, with an emphasis on women's equality within Sikhism.
- <http://www.sikhnet.com>. A website devoted to Sikhism by Western converts to Sikhism.
- <http://www.sacred-texts.com/skh>. From the Internet Sacred Texts Archive, with a focus on scripture and M. A. Macauliffe's writings.
- <http://www.sgpc.net/index.html>. The SGPC home page.
- <http://www.gurmat.info/sms/smspublications/introductiontosikhism2>. Go-bind Singh Mansukhani's *Introduction to Sikhism*, a service of the Sikh Missionary Society.
- <http://www.namdhari.org/Links/History.htm>. The Namdhari Sikhs home page.
- <http://www.akj.org.uk>. The official Akhand Kirtani Jatha site.
- <http://www.the.langarhall.com>
- <http://www.sikhwomen.org>
- <http://www.kaurista.com>

About the Authors

Louis E. Fenech was a student of W. H. McLeod's in the late 1980s and early 1990s at the University of Toronto, where he earned all three of his degrees (B.A., M.A., and Ph.D.) in South Asian studies with a specific focus on Sikh history and religion. His interest in all things Sikh is a result of growing up in Toronto, a wonderful city that a large number of Sikhs have called home since the early 1970s. Since graduating the University of Toronto in 1995, he has taught at the University of Northern Iowa in Cedar Falls, Iowa, and Shanghai Dianji University in Shanghai. All of his published work concerns the history and ideologies of the Sikhs. These include *Martyrdom in the Sikh Tradition: Playing the "Game of Love"* (2000), *Darbar of the Sikh Gurus: The Court of God in the World of Men* (2008), and *The Sikh Zafarnamah of Guru Gobind Singh: A Discursive Blade in the Heart of the Mughal Empire* (2013). He is also the coeditor, with Pashaura Singh, of the forthcoming *The Oxford Handbook of Sikh Studies* (2014).

W. H. McLeod died on 9 July 2009 in his hometown of Dunedin, New Zealand. He was a native New Zealander who taught at the University of Otago in Dunedin. He earned his M.A. at the University of Otago and a Ph.D. at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. For nine years he taught in the Punjab and there developed a lifelong interest in the Sikhs. He returned to teach history at the University of Otago in 1971 and paid frequent visits to the Punjab. He was also a visiting commonwealth fellow at the University of Toronto from 1986 to 1992. All of his books and most of his published articles concern Sikh history, religion, and sociology, including *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion* (1968), *The Evolution of the Sikh Community* (1976), *Early Sikh Tradition* (1980), *Who Is a Sikh?* (1989), *The Sikhs: History, Religion, and Society* (1989), *Textual Sources for the Study of Sikhism* (1990), *Sikhism* (1997), *Exploring Sikhism: Aspects of Sikh Identity, Culture, and Thought* (2000), *Sikhs of the Khalsa: A History of the Khalsa Rahit* (2003), and *Discovering the Sikhs: Autobiography of a Historian* (2004). A translation from the Punjabi of *Prem Sumarag*, an 18th-century *rahit-nama*, was published in New Delhi.